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Number 5

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Publication Office: 450 Ahnaip St., Menasha, Wis.

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ROMAN LEGAL EDUCATION¹

By CLYDE PHARR
Vanderbilt University

In Hegel's expressive and untranslatable phrase the ancient Romans were *ein Rechtsvolk*,² a law people, a people legally minded and law conscious, devoted to law and to justice. It is true that the ancient Hebrews also were remarkably similar in this respect and that their Torah and their Talmud, the Mishnah and the Gemara, were an essentially vital element in their cultural and intellectual life.³ But with this possible exception there has been no other people, ancient or modern, among whom law and legal

¹ Read at the thirty-fourth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Iowa City, April 15, 1938.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE: There is no adequate treatment of Roman legal education. A good summary is that by B. Kübler in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. "Rechtsunterricht" (1914). See also F. P. Bremer, *Rechtslehrer und Rechtsschulen im röm. Kaiserreich*: Berlin (1868); O. Karlowa, *Röm. Rechtsgesch.* 1: Leipzig (1885); C. Barbagallo, *Lo Stato e l' Istruzione pubblica nell' Impero Romano*: Catania (1911); P. Krüger, *Gesch. der Quellen und der Litt. des röm. Rechts*²: München (1912); L. Laborde, *Les Écoles de Droit dans l' Empire d' Orient* (thesis): Bordeaux (1912); A. Berger in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. "Iurisprudentia" (1917); P. Collinet, *Histoire de l' École de Droit de Beyrouth*: Paris (1925); B. Kübler, *Gesch. des röm. Rechts*: Leipzig, Erlangen (1925); P. De Francisci, *Storia del Diritto Romano*: Roma, Milano (1926-1936); H. F. Jolowicz, *Hist. Introd. to the Study of Roman Law*: Cambridge (1932); E. Weiss, *Grundzüge der röm. Rechtsgesch.*: Reichenberg (1936).

² *Philosophie des Rechts*, quoted from Weiss, *op. cit.* 33.

³ Cf. S. Marcus, *Die Pädagogik des israel. Volkes*: Wien (1877); B. Strassburger, *Gesch. der Erziehung und des Unterrichtes bei den Israeliten*: Stuttgart (1885).

education formed such an integral part of their life and modes of thought as they did for the ancient Romans.

In primitive times among the Romans, as with all peoples, law and religion were inextricably woven together and were administered by the same officials. Thus in early times at Rome we find that law and legal knowledge were primarily in the hands of the Pontifical College and were carefully guarded as a priestly prerogative.⁴ With the gradual development of secularism and the consequent distinction between sacred and secular law, *fas* and *ius*, there also developed a demand on the part of the people for the publication of secular law, which, according to Livy, was hidden away in the inner shrines of the pontiffs. In spite of the fact that the pontiffs, as experts in a carefully prescribed system of ritual and ceremonial, closely and jealously guarded their knowledge of the sacred legal mysteries, it is only reasonable to suppose that a fair acquaintance with Roman law and with the necessary legal forms, formulae, and ceremonies was not completely lacking among the higher classes even before the publication of the famous Twelve Tables about 450 B.C. True, in the last resort, the people were dependent upon the priestly pontiffs for the actual enforcement of any legal right or claim, yet it is not reasonable to suppose that the patricians at any rate were entirely ignorant and consequently at the mercy of the caprice of the pontiffs, who after all were members of their own class.

With the publication of the Twelve Tables, a working knowledge of Roman law apparently became the foundation of a liberal education, that is, the education of a gentleman, a *liberalis*, among the Romans, and Roman boys were compelled to learn by heart the whole of the Twelve Tables as a sort of *carmen necessarium*, as Cicero tells us.⁵ Yet even after the publication of the Twelve Tables the pontiffs continued to guard as far as possible their priestly prerogatives and to administer the law. Only they knew all the questions as well as all the answers and the exact magical wording necessary for all valid legal procedure, where a single slip of the tongue or a single mistake of word or action, even the slight-

⁴ Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiq. Rom.* x, 1; Livy iv, 3, 9; ix, 46, 5; Cicero, *Pro Mur.* 25, 26; *De Orat.* i, 186; *Ad Att.* vi, 1, 8.

⁵ Cf. *De Leg.* ii, 23, 59.

est and most insignificant, involved the loss of the case.⁶ And such were the demands of this magico-sacro-secular system, that a mistake once made could not be rectified and a case once forfeited by some slight error of omission or commission was irretrievably lost and might never be tried again.⁷ But under the constant and irresistible pressure of the needs of everyday life there was a forced development of legal theory and of legal practice. As step by step the plebeians obtained political, legal, social, and economic rights, they also gained a greater consideration before the courts and some approach to equality before the law, and therewith they gradually acquired some knowledge of the fundamental legal forms. Thus we are told⁸ that toward the end of the fourth century B.C. one Gnaeus Flavius, son of a freedman, became the private secretary of the great Appius Claudius Caecus, one of the most picturesque and forceful figures in all history, and that he managed to get possession of a book containing a complete exposition of the *ius civile* with the *legis actiones* and of the calendar, and that he immediately published all this. Tradition says that this information had been carefully worked out by Appius Claudius and embodied in this book and that Gnaeus Flavius had stolen this volume and published it. From what we know of Appius Claudius it is more than probable that he was responsible for the publication of this material and that he merely used Gnaeus Flavius as a blind.⁹

With the publication of this book anyone could know on what days he might legally bring his suit and might also know the necessary legal forms and ceremonies. Henceforth the Roman youth of birth and ambition not only studied the substantive law as embodied primarily in the Twelve Tables, but he studied the details of the adjective law as well, now represented by the publication of the *legis actiones* and the calendar. Another decisive

⁶ Cf. Gaius, *Inst.* iv, 30. Cf. also iv, 11.

⁷ As a result of what was technically known as the "consumption of the action" (*consumptio actionis*), Gaius, *Inst.* iii, 181; iv, 107, 131; *Dig.* (Ulpian) xiv, 3, 13 pr.; Cicero, *De Orat.* i, 168; *Pro Flacco* 50.

⁸ Cf. Valerius Maximus ii, 5, 2; Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiii, 6; Macrobius i, 15, 9; *Dig.* (Pomponius) i, 2, 2, 7; Diodorus xx, 36, 6.

⁹ Cf. F. Münzer, *Pauly-Wissowa* iii, 2681-2685 (1899); H. F. Jolowicz, *op. cit.*, 88.

forward step was taken by Tiberius Coruncanius, consul in 280, who was the first plebeian to become Pontifex Maximus and, significantly, was the first professor of law, that is, the first teacher in public of law in ancient Rome.¹⁰ He is thus the beginning of a long line of brilliant legal teachers and jurisconsults who not only taught Rome, but who taught the world, and whose continuing influence is incalculable. Henceforth we have a stately procession of public-spirited jurisconsults who not only gave free legal advice to all who sought it, but who also gave free legal instruction to all those who wished to learn.

Roman legal education at this period lacked organization and system. There were no law schools, no charges for tuition, no student fees, no prescribed course of study, and no systematic instruction. The great jurisconsults, as public-spirited Roman citizens, gave free legal advice to all who sought it, and when their clients came to consult them, an increasing number of jurists adopted the plan of giving public hearings. Thus young men who were eager to learn the law were allowed to be present and hear the responses of noted jurisconsults to the questions propounded by the clients. The young men could then follow the clients to court and observe the trial and its issue.¹¹ Thus there was little or no systematic theory, but continual practice on individual cases, and Roman law always maintained its fundamental connection with the practical realities of everyday life wherein its great strength and vitality lay. Roman law was not allowed to hamper Roman business, and legal niceties were never permitted to interfere with normal human activities.

But early in the Empire, along with the reorganization of governmental and administrative measures, there was a rapid development in the theory and practice of legal education. Beginning with Augustus, one could not become a jurisconsult without direct permission of the emperor.¹² The emperor thus became the recognized head of the legal system and for a long period only members of the upper classes were licensed as jurisconsults. But in the reign

¹⁰ Cf. *Dig.* (Pompon.) I, 2, 35 and 38.

¹¹ Cf. Cicero, *De Orat.* III, 33, 133-135; *De Amic.* I, 1.

¹² Cf. *Dig.* (Pompon.) I, 2, 49 f.

of Tiberius a jurist of marked distinction, Massurius Sabinus, arose from the lower classes. We do not know the details of his early life and struggles or how it was possible for him to obtain recognition, but we learn that he became an *eques* late in life and that he was licensed by Tiberius as a jurisconsult, the first man below the rank of senator to obtain this distinction.¹³

With Sabinus begins a new era in legal education and in legal development. We learn that he was very poor and so he was the first to charge fees for his instruction, upon which he depended for his living.¹⁴ Consequently with him and his successors legal instruction became more systematic, and henceforth great schools of legal thought and theory developed, the greatest of which was that founded by Sabinus himself and known as the *schola* or *secta Sabinianorum*. This legal sect existed for over a hundred years and great libraries were written by later Roman jurists as commentaries on the doctrine of Sabinus. His influence was so marked that his teaching, with the resultant commentaries of later scholars, is directly responsible for not less than one third of the *Digest* of Justinian,¹⁵ the final great compilation of Roman law, made some five hundred years after the time when Sabinus was teaching school in Rome.

Other great teachers followed Sabinus, all of them apparently private individuals. But in the second century and later we begin to hear of great law schools, first at Rome,¹⁶ and later in Athens,¹⁷ Beirut,¹⁸ Alexandria,¹⁹ Carthage,²⁰ Caesarea in Palestine,²¹ Antioch,²² and Constantinople.²³ Doubtless still others existed, espe-

¹³ Cf. *Dig. loc. cit.* ¹⁴ Cf. *Dig. loc. cit.*

¹⁵ Cf. Fr. Bluhme, "Die Ordnung der Fragmente in den Pandectentiteln," *Zeitschr. für geschichtl. Rechtswiss.* IV (1818), 257-474.

¹⁶ Cf. *Dig.* (Ulpian) v, 1, 18, 1; xii, 1, 17; XLVII, 10, 5, 5; *Frag. Vat.* 204; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* VII, 42; Libanius, *De Vita Sua* I, 178, 185 (ed. Foerster); *Oratt.* XL, XLVIII, XLIX, 26; Rutilius Namatianus, *De Reditu Suo* I, 209.

¹⁷ Cf. Malalas, *Chronogr.* 451 (Dindorf).

¹⁸ Cf. Gregorius Thaumaturgus, *Orat. Panegy. in Orig.* 62; *Cod. Just.* (Diocletian and Maximianus), x, 50 (49); *Expositio Totius Mundi* 25; Libanius, *Epist.* 652; Nonnus, *Dionys.* XLI, 145; Eunapius, *Vit. Proaeresii* 150; *Dig.*, "Const. 'Omnem,'" 7.

¹⁹ Cf. *Dig. loc. cit.* ²⁰ Cf. *Apul. Flor.* IV, 20. ²¹ Cf. *Dig. loc. cit.*

²² Cf. Schemmel, *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie* xxiv, 447.

²³ Cf. *Cod. Theod.* (Theodosius and Valentinian) xiv, 9, 3; v, 21, 1.

cially in Gaul, but of these we have no definite record preserved.²⁴ The greatest of these law schools was the one at Beirut in Syria,²⁵ strange as it may seem, and its influence on the further development of legal theory and legal philosophy, whereby Roman law was largely orientalized, became dominant in the later Empire.²⁶

This is not the time nor the place to pursue farther this theme, but it is gradually coming to be recognized that it was primarily the pontiffs, the jurisconsults, and the professors of law, rather than the magistrates, that guided Roman legal development and thus made such vital contributions that they shaped the whole content and gave the informing spirit to the greatest system of jurisprudence the world has ever known.²⁷ It was primarily the needs of the classroom that brought about the great codifications and determined their form, with the consequent preservation and transmission of Roman law to the modern world.

Thus over five hundred years before the compilation of Justinian's *Digest* and the *Corpus Juris Civilis* Alfenus Varus, consul

²⁴ Cf. Fr. Savigny, *Gesch. des röm. Rechts im Mittelalter*²: Heidelberg (1834-1851), I, 459 f. The *Fragmenta Interpretationis Gai Institutionum Augustodunensia*, a manuscript of the fourth or fifth century, found at Autun in 1898, is a diffuse paraphrase of Gaius, with obvious illustrations. It was evidently intended for educational purposes only and it would imply the existence of a law school in that region. Cf. Th. Mommsen, *Jur. Schrift.*: Berlin (1905), II, 429. Also the *Consultatio Veteris Cuiusdam Iurisconsulti*, composed apparently in Gaul in the fifth or sixth century, was evidently a school text. Cf. P. Krüger, *loc. cit.* 390 f. The fifth book of the *Origines* of Isidorus, many passages in Ausonius, and the votive inscription of Valerius Dalmaticus also point in the same direction. Cf. Mommsen, *loc. cit.*

²⁵ Libanius (*Epist.* 652) calls Beirut τῶν νόμων μήτηρ, Justinian in the *Digest* (Const. "Omnen" 7) uses the appellation *legum nutrix*, and the scholiasts of the *Basilica* commonly refer to the professors of the law school in Beirut as τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλοι and οἱ ἥρωες (*divi*).

²⁶ Cf. P. Collinet, *op. cit.* 261-279; B. Kübler, *op. cit.* 425 f; P. Krüger, *op. cit.* 399-401; E. Weiss, *op. cit.* 35, 135; P. De Francisci, *op. cit.* III, 227-234.

²⁷ This may seem paradoxical, since the praetor's edict and the imperial constitutions were of such basic importance in Roman legal development, but it must be remembered that the great majority of the praetors and emperors were not trained jurists and that they were compelled to rely on the jurisconsults (the *consilium* of the magistrates and the *consistorium* of the emperors) for guidance in legal matters. See E. Weiss, *op. cit.* 50, 137; W. Liebenam in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. "Consilium" (largely antiquated); and O. Seeck, s. v. "Consistorium" (1901); P. Krüger, *op. cit.* 37, 116, 313; H. F. Jolowicz, *op. cit.* 381 f; Cicero, *Ad Atticum* VI, 1, 15; *Ad Famil.* III, 8, 4.

suffectus in 39 B.C. and a noted jurisconsult, composed a digest,²⁸ apparently arranging the unwieldy material in such a manner that it might be easily consulted and be in such a form that it could be taught to students. Not less than four other such digests were compiled and composed by later jurisconsults and professors of law in the first two centuries of the Empire.²⁹ At least two similar compilations called pandects, the alternate name chosen by Justinian for his great compilation, were composed by jurisconsults in the early part of the third century.³⁰ Likewise the first codes or collections of imperial constitutions were made by jurisconsults for pedagogical purposes, and not less than four such codes were compiled by professors of law before the time of Theodosius, who, like Justinian, claims to be a pioneer in this field.³¹ The great compilations and codifications of Theodosius, of Justinian, and of Leo the Philosopher would have been impossible but for this fundamental work done by the professors of law for the use of their students. In fact scholars are now inclined to the opinion that the models already in existence at the time when Justinian composed his *Digest*, his *Code*, and his *Institutes*, had been so well worked out that Justinian's contribution was comparatively slight and represented primarily the revision and bringing down to date of previously existent material.³² The same would be true of course

²⁸ Cf. Aulus Gellius vii, 5, 1; *Index Flor.* iv; O. Lenel, *Palingenesia Iuris Civilis*: Leipzig (1889), i, 37 ff.

²⁹ Digests of the following jurisconsults are known: Alfenus Varus in 40 books (cf. *supra*), P. Juventius Celsus in 39 books (*Index Flor.* x; Lenel, *op. cit.* i, 127 ff.), Salvius Julianus in 90 books (*Index Flor.* i, 1; Lenel, i, 318 ff.), Ulpian Marcellus in 31 books (*Index Flor.* xvii, 1; Lenel, i, 589 ff.), Cervidius Scaevola in 40 books (*Index Flor.* xciii, 1; Lenel ii, 215 ff.). In addition it is extremely probable that digests were composed by Aufidius Namusa in 140 books and by Titius Aristo. Cf. *Dig.* (Pompon.) i, 2, 2, 44, and (Paulus) xxiv, 3, 44 pr.

³⁰ By Ulpian in 10 books (*Index Flor.* xxiv, 7; Lenel ii, 1013) and by Herennius Modestinus in 12 books (*Index Flor.* xxxi, 2; Lenel i, 721).

³¹ One by Papirius Justus in 20 books in the time of Marcus Aurelius (*Index Flor.* xciii, 1; Lenel i, 947) and two by Paulus, one of 3 books and one of 6 (*Index Flor.* xxv, 10, 15; Lenel i, 959; Karlowa, *op. cit.* i, 654). Also the well-known *Codices Gregorianus* and *Hermogenianus* were compiled in the time of Diocletian and Constantine, apparently by professors in the law school of Beirut. Cf. De Francisci, *op. cit.* 197; Jolowicz, *op. cit.* 479.

³² Cf. De Francisci, *op. cit.* iii, 278; E. Weiss, *op. cit.* 163; Kübler, *op. cit.* 405 f.

of the *Theodosian Code* and of the *Basilica* as given final form in the tenth century by Leo the Philosopher.

Early in the Empire anyone who wished could set himself up as professor of law and we do not know of any requirements exacted by the state in order that one might teach. But with the gradual establishment of complete autocracy and the regimentation of the entire population for governmental purposes of the totalitarian state, the government gradually assumed control of legal instruction as it did of all other activities within the empire,³³ and there was established a definite quota, a *numerus clausus* (*numerus statutus*), of law professors, as well as a quota of students and of practicing lawyers or *advocati*.³⁴ Apparently the state schools and private instruction continued to exist side by side until private instruction in law was finally abolished by Justinian at the time when he promulgated his great codification in 529; and at this time he also abolished all law schools but three, namely the three great centers of legal instruction, Beirut, Constantinople, and Rome.³⁵

The different emperors showered privileges upon the law teachers. They were given full exemption from all taxes and from all those burdensome public services which harassed and distressed the lives of the great mass of the population throughout the empire. Thus the emperor Constantine³⁶ in a proclamation of 333 says:

We command that physicians and especially the chief physicians and ex-chief physicians as well as all grammarians and other professors of the liberal arts, together with their wives, their children, and their property, shall be exempt from all payment of taxes,³⁷ and from every public levy, and from the performance of all public service,³⁸ either local or national. Those in the prov-

³³ The foundation for state control of education was laid when the state first began to pay teachers in the time of Vespasian (Suetonius, *Vesp.* 18).

³⁴ Cf. *Cod. Just.* II, 7, 11, 17 and 26.

³⁵ *Dig.*, Const. "Omnem" 7.

³⁶ *Cod. Just.* X, 53 (52), 6.

³⁷ The burden of taxation at this period was so onerous that most of the population were in economic slavery to the state and every imaginable device was employed to escape the intolerable oppression.

³⁸ Many of these were of a menial nature and involved heavy and degrading manual labor of various sorts. Cf. B. Kübler in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. "Munus" (1933).

inces shall not have soldiers quartered upon them,³⁹ nor shall they be required to perform any public services, nor shall they be haled into court, nor shall they be delivered to the magistrate, nor shall they suffer injustice of any sort. If anyone harass them, he shall be punished at the discretion of the court. We order also that their fees and salaries shall be duly paid, so that they may the more readily instruct many in the liberal studies and the aforesaid arts.

The tariff for student fees was fixed by the state at least as early as the time of Diocletian,⁴⁰ and definite scholastic requirements were established for admission to the law schools. The course of study at first covered four and later five full years devoted to unremitting work on Roman law, so that Theodosius in 438⁴¹ can speak feelingly of the *tristis lucubrationum pallor*, the sickly pallor of the unfortunate students who burned the midnight oil over their law books as they unhappily struggled with their intractable material.

Since the teaching of law was an *opera liberalis*, the professor was not allowed to sue students who failed or refused to pay their fees, as we know from a passage of Ulpian in the *Digest*,⁴² where it is indicated that professors of the civil law may not sue for their fees:

For legal learning is a very sacred thing and it is not to be estimated in terms of money value, nor is anyone to disgrace it by seeking a fee for it in court. For the fee should be paid by the student at the time when he seeks initiation to the knowledge of the sacred mysteries of jurisprudence. Moreover many things may be accepted honorably enough which it would be dishonorable to sue for in court.

The private life of both professors and students was a matter of concern to the state. Thus the Emperor Julian⁴³ says:

It is fitting that both teachers in our secondary schools and the professors in our higher institutions should excel first in character and then in scholarship, and I hereby command that whoever wishes to teach shall not suddenly and rashly jump into this task but shall first be approved by the municipal council

³⁹ A common practice in the later Empire. Cf. *Dig.* (Ulpian) I, 4, 3, 13; (Arcadius Charisius) I, 4, 18, 29 f; (Paulus) I, 5, 10, 2; *Cod. Just.* XII, 40, 4 (400), and 8 (427).

⁴⁰ *Edictum de Pretiis* VII, 65 ff. ⁴¹ *Novella* I, pr.

⁴² I, 13, 1, 5. ⁴³ *Cod. Just.* X, 53 (52), 7 (362).

and obtain a license from them, by the unanimous consent of those best qualified to judge.

In 425 the emperors Theodosius and Valentinian III issued the following proclamation:⁴⁴

We decree that all grammarians, both Greek and Latin, professors of rhetoric and philosophy, and professors of law who teach in this royal city [of Constantinople] and who come within the statutory quota, provided they prove that they are living a respectable life and that their morals are upright, that they possess teaching skill, facility in expression, subtlety in interpretation, and a ready flow of eloquent language, and if they are adjudged worthy by the municipal council, after twenty years of continuous performance of duty and zealous teaching service shall be honored with the title and numbered among those who have the rank of *vicarius*.⁴⁵

Foreign students who flocked to the cities presented many problems, and in 370⁴⁶ we find the following imperial proclamation addressed to the city prefect:⁴⁷

All those who come to the city because of their desire for learning shall immediately upon arrival present to the Keeper of the Census (*Magister Censu*) the requisite written documents from their several provincial governors, who alone have the authority to give them leave to come to the city. These documents shall contain the name of the city from which each student comes, together with his birth certificate,⁴⁸ and letters of recommendation certifying to his high attainments. Immediately upon matriculation the students shall indicate the profession for which they intend to study. Furthermore the censor's office shall carefully investigate the life of the students at their lodging places, to see that they actually do bestow their time on the studies which they assert they are pursuing. These same officials of the census shall warn the students that they shall severally conduct themselves in their assemblies as those should who consider it their duty to avoid a disgraceful and scandalous reputation and bad company, all of which we consider as the next worst thing to actual criminality. Nor shall the students attend shows⁴⁹ too frequently nor commonly take part in wild parties.⁵⁰ We furthermore grant to you as prefect the authority that if any student in the city fails to conduct himself as the dignity of a liberal education demands, he shall be publicly flogged, immediately put on board a boat, expelled from the city and returned home.

⁴⁴ *Cod. Just.* XII, 15 (425).

⁴⁵ A title of nobility.

⁴⁶ *Cod. Theod.* XIV, 9, 1 (370).

⁴⁷ That is, the chief of police, Cf. *Dig.* (Ulpian and Paulus) I, 12.

⁴⁸ *Natales*, certifying that the student was of free birth. Cf. *Cod. Just.* IV, 19, 10 and 12.

⁴⁹ *Spectacula*.

⁵⁰ *Intempestiva convivia*.

The emperors were also much concerned that those foreign students, many of them barbarians, who came to Rome should dress as Romans do, in toga and sandals, discarding such barbaric and unbecoming dress as boots and trousers. In fact the Romans were always suspicious of those who wore trousers, and Cicero in his famous speech for Fonteius eagerly seizes the opportunity to persuade the jury that anyone who wears trousers is not to be believed even under oath.⁵¹ And so we find in 397⁵² the following legislation as to the garb which is to be worn within the City of Rome and of Constantinople:

No one shall be allowed to wear either boots or breeches⁵³ within our venerable city. But if any man presume to contravene this our sacred ordinance we command that in accordance with the judgment of his Honor the Prefect the guilty party shall be deprived of all his property and sent into perpetual exile.

The emperors also found objectionable the dandified appearance of many students as well as their informal attire, and in 416⁵⁴ we have the following ordinance:

We command that no one shall be allowed to wear long hair, and no one, not even a slave, shall be allowed to wear garments made of skin within the limits of our most holy city.

In the time of Justinian both students and professors felt the firm guiding hand of the emperor. Everything now was fully prescribed,⁵⁵ a course of study covering five full years devoted entirely to law, textbooks, with the amount to be covered each year, and even the nicknames of the classes for each year.

The hazing of freshmen and the playing of pranks on the professors was a long-established custom, but Justinian attempted to stamp it out, with what success we do not know. Thus in 533⁵⁶ he decrees:

There is a very necessary order which we make by way of a very strong prohibition, namely that no one who is prosecuting legal studies shall per-

⁵¹ *Pro Fonteio* 30-33. Cf. Cic. *In Pisonem* 23: O braccatae cognationis dedecus!

⁵² *Cod. Theod.* xiv, 10, 2 (397).

⁵³ Not having this article of dress the Romans had no word for it and were compelled to use a Latinized form, *braccae*, of a Celtic word, borrowed from an old Germanic word, the ancestor of the English word, "breeches." ⁵⁴ *Cod. Theod.* xiv, 10, 4 (416).

⁵⁵ *Dig., Const.* "Omnem."

⁵⁶ *Dig. loc. cit.* 9.

petrate any unseemly jokes,⁵⁷ which are most offensive, or I should rather say, are low and vulgar, and whose effect constitutes an outrage, as well as other criminal acts, which they have the audacity to undertake against their fellow-students, especially those who are beginners,⁵⁸ and at times even against the professors themselves. How indeed can the word joke be used of that which leads to criminality? Such conduct we absolutely prohibit and this whole matter we put under this strict regulation for our own times and transmit it to all future generations. For it is only right that we should train the character of our students first and then develop their scholarship.⁵⁹

Upon graduation at the end of the prescribed course of study the student was admitted to the practice of law, provided he came within the statutory quota, as we can see from an edict of the emperor Leo.⁶⁰ The diploma of graduation consisted in the sworn statement of the instructors in the law school that the student was duly qualified and learned in the law.⁶¹ No one was admitted to the bar unless he had successfully completed the prescribed course of study and attained this diploma,⁶² and unless he was a member of one of the higher classes.⁶³ After Christianity prevailed he must also be a regular member of the Catholic Church.⁶⁴

The state also made provision for the graduates of the law schools by drafting them into the civil service, where they became career men in the government of the Roman Empire, as we can see from the statement of Justinian, where the emperor addresses "the youth desirous of the study of law"⁶⁵ and says to the prospective students:⁶⁶

Receive therefore these laws of ours [as contained in the *Institutes*] with especial zeal and eager love of learning and strive to show yourselves so learned in the law that the fairest hope may encourage you that when you have completed your course of study, covering the whole field of law, you may be able to govern the portions of our empire which are to be entrusted to you.

Apparently women students were not admitted to the study of law and women were definitely debarred from the practice of law. Various reasons were assigned for this prohibition, such as the

⁵⁷ *Ludi.* ⁵⁸ Freshmen! ⁵⁹ Stated earlier by Julian (*supra*, n. 43).

⁶⁰ *Cod. Just.* II, 7, 11 (460). ⁶¹ *Cod. Just. loc. cit.*

⁶² *Cod. Just.* II, 7, 22, 4 (505); II, 7, 24, 4 (517).

⁶³ *Cod. Just.* II, 7, 17 pr. (474); II, 7, 11 (460).

⁶⁴ *Cod. Just.* I, 4, 15=II, 6, 8 (468). ⁶⁵ *Inst. Just.*, "Praefatio," pr.

⁶⁶ *Loc. cit.* 7. Cf. *Dig. Const.* "Omnem" 11.

weakness, the instability, and the unaccountability of the sex, what the jurists termed *fragilitas, mutabilitas, et levitas animi feminarum*.⁶⁷ Thus Ulpian and Gaius in the *Digest*⁶⁸ enumerate those who are not to be allowed to plead in court, namely, infants, the blind, the deaf, persons who have been branded with infamy, condemned criminals, professional gladiators, lunatics, imbeciles, and women.

Says Ulpian,⁶⁹

Women are strictly forbidden from pleading in court and the reason for this prohibition is that of preventing women from mixing themselves up with other people's affairs contrary to the modesty which befits their sex, or discharging functions properly belonging to men. The first case that gave rise to the prohibition was that of one Carfania, a most pertinacious woman, who so annoyed and exasperated the magistrate with her impertinent questions and her lack of respect for the court as to make it necessary to lay down this rule in the Edict (forever prohibiting women from the practice of law).

A little further light is shed on this interesting lady by Valerius Maximus (VIII, 3), where the manuscripts read "Afrania" instead of "Carfania," but evidently the same person is meant. Says Valerius:

Nor should we fail to mention those women whom neither due consideration of the limitations of their own sex nor the robe of matronly modesty were able to induce to hold their tongues in the Forum and in our courtrooms. Now there was a certain Gaia Afrania, the wife of Licinius Bucco,⁷⁰ a senator, and she was always ready and willing to become involved in litigation and to plead her own case before the praetor, not because she lacked the opportunity of obtaining suitable counsel but because she abounded in impudence. And so she continually pleaded cases before the courts with her womanish yapping⁷¹ in a way that simply was not done in the Forum. She thus turned out to be a horrible example of female chicanery, to such an extent that even unto this day the name of Gaia Afrania is used as a term of reproach and as a by-word for impertinent women of impudent character. She finally died when Gaius Caesar was consul for the second time with Publius Servilius as his colleague.⁷² We note the date of her death rather than that of her birth, since

⁶⁷ Cf. Gaius, *Inst.* I, 144, 190; Livy xxxiv, 2; Cicero, *Pro Murena* xii, 27.

⁶⁸ III, 1, 1 f. ⁶⁹ *Loc. cit.*

⁷⁰ "The Dolt," a derisive nickname, apparently bestowed upon Licinius for being married to such a wife. ⁷¹ *Latratu*s. ⁷² 48 B.C.

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⁶⁸ III, 1, 1 f. ⁶⁹ *Loc. cit.*

⁷⁰ "The Dolt," a derisive nickname, apparently bestowed upon Licinius for being married to such a wife. ⁷¹ *Latratus*. ⁷² 48 B.C.

it is more fitting to commemorate the end than the beginning of such a woman.

Limits of space prevent a discussion or even the mention of many other interesting features of Roman legal education. Suffice it to say that there is an enormous amount of source material, much of it hidden away in the old Roman law books and not yet properly exploited. Many interesting problems are involved and much yet remains to be done by research workers in this field.

OBJECTIVES IN THE TEACHING OF HIGH-SCHOOL LATIN AND THE MEASUREMENT OF THEIR ATTAINMENT¹

By MARK E. HUTCHINSON
Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa

One of the reasons that Latin as a subject in the modern high schools finds itself under fire today seems to me to be the confusion in the minds of the teachers as to why they are teaching it. The intelligent Latin teacher has certain definite aims in his teaching and these aims must be possible of attainment by students of a very great range of abilities and interests. If we are at all aware of what is going on around us in the educational world, we know that Latin will literally be kicked out of the curriculum unless we can show some tangible results. I am firmly of the opinion that propaganda for the great value of the classics, however skilfully and truthfully presented, will largely fall on deaf ears. If the high priests of education can be convinced that 87 per cent of students in the Latin classes of the public high schools who study Latin for two years or less are actually getting something worth while from their study of Latin, Latin will remain in the program of studies of the modern high school. If we are not willing to make an intelligent effort to adapt our Latin teaching to modern conditions, we might as well pray for a speedy death and a decent burial for our beloved subject, for die it surely will. I know that there is a feeling in some quarters that these educators do not wish to be convinced that there is any value in Latin, cannot be convinced, and that some of them are perfectly willing to "scrap" their convictions under pressure. However, I feel disposed to give even the devil his due. In my opinion many of the responsible leaders of educational

¹ Read at the Classical Section of the Iowa State Teachers Association, Des Moines, November 6, 1936.

thought today will not refuse to give Latin a place in the sun, and more than a microscopic spot, if we can show results.

But what are the results at which we should aim? Shall we teach Latin only for the talented few, as many educators and some Latinists maintain? Shall we teach one kind of Latin to the student of high I.Q. and another kind to his less talented brother? Shall we stress the educational objectives or ultimate objectives, as they were called in the *Classical Report*, and not attempt to read much Latin? Shall we spend our time in reading Latin and let the educational objectives take care of themselves? These and many other such questions must be answered, and it is to be devoutly hoped that the teachers of Latin have enough interest in the welfare of their subject to attack these problems with vigor.

We were told in the *Report of the Classical Investigation* that in the last analysis the retention of Latin in the curriculum depended on its general educational values. A number of specific so-called ultimate objectives were set up which fall into three main divisions: (1) instrumental and application, i.e., the value of the study of Latin for English and other languages, (2) disciplinary, (3) historical and cultural. However, the writers of this report believed that these educational objectives could not be attained without reading Latin, and therefore the objective of reading Latin was stressed as of primary importance. This recommendation has seemed to some to be an attempt to ride two horses at one and the same time, i.e., the educational objectives and the objective of reading Latin. I do not believe that the writers of the *Report* were trying to do any circus riding, but I am convinced that many teachers of Latin since the publication of this recommendation have tried to manage four horses (i.e. the three ultimate objectives and the objective of reading Latin) at one and the same time, and as a result they have been riding around in circles and getting nowhere. R. B. Kenney in a recent Yale Ph.D. thesis says:

There are those that would assert that for the American secondary pupil the study of any foreign language merely for its value as a foreign language is not worth the time it takes. It appears that until foreign language study is revised to have a content worth retaining and methods which will develop desirable attitudes and habits it cannot be other than it is in many cases

today, merely a temporary means or waystation for the attainment of other objectives, which could usually be reached more economically by some other means.²

In other words, if Latin is worthy of a place in the modern high-school curriculum it must stand on its own legs. But does this mean that we must cast overboard the educational objectives, set up the reading of Latin as our aim, and try to hold only the students of superior attainments? Shall we frankly admit that Latin can occupy only a very insignificant place in modern democratic education, become very exclusive, and gradually "fade out" of the picture? Such action seems to me to be neither wise nor necessary.

Let us examine these educational objectives. For many years Latin held its prominent place in the curriculum of the secondary school because it was thought to give a mental training or discipline to the student which would be of great value to him in later life. While the theory of mental discipline or transfer of training no longer plays a great rôle in educational psychology, I believe that educational psychologists at the present time will agree that the study of Latin may engender certain desirable habits and ideals of accuracy, perseverance, thoroughness, and reflective thinking, which under proper teaching can be transferred to analogous situations in actual life. However, such disciplinary values can be attained as well by other subjects—or at least the psychologists think so.³ This does not mean, however, that the conscientious Latin teacher will not try to bring about such desirable outcomes in his students. Dr. J. C. Kirtland has recently said:

There is just one reason which would justify the study for the 87 per cent who begin it [the study of Latin] but do not continue it beyond the second year—the close connection between the laws of language and the laws of thought, and the peculiar advantages of the study of Latin as an approach to the mastery of the processes of both.⁴

² Ralph B. Kenney, *Trends in the Status of Latin and Greek in American Secondary Education from 1890 to 1924*: a Ph.D. thesis, Yale University (1934), 359.

³ E. L. Thorndike, "Mental Discipline in High School Subjects," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, xv (1924), 1-24, 83-98. Cf. also the references in my *Outline and Bibliography of a Latin Teachers Course*: Ann Arbor, Edwards Bros. (1935), 7 f.

⁴ *Annual Bulletin of the Classical Association of New England*, xxxi (1936), 16.

This value for the study of Latin was also strongly advocated in past years by Professors Inglis and Bennett,⁵ and can roughly be classified as a disciplinary objective. I can follow Kirtland when he says that this is *one* reason why these two-year students should study Latin, but I can hardly agree that it is the *only* reason. I think the time has passed when Latin can be defended solely on its disciplinary values. Both the students and the educators will demand other outcomes for the two years which are spent on the study of Latin. Our duty as Latin teachers is so to teach our subject that these desirable disciplinary objectives will come to pass. At any rate, the disciplinary objective need not be divorced from the objective of reading Latin. If I understand Dr. Kirtland correctly, the very process of reading Latin is invaluable in mastering the processes of thinking.

The second main educational objective is the application objective. In other words, Latin should be studied because by the study of Latin we gain a knowledge of English and other foreign languages which can be gained in no other way. This objective was considered of great importance by the Latin teachers in the secondary schools who replied to the questionnaires sent out at the time of the Classical Investigation. Most of the textbooks published since the Classical Report have devoted a great deal of attention to this objective. It has seemed to me that sometimes teachers have paid so much attention to these application objectives that their courses have been classes in word-study and derivation rather than in Latin. On the other hand, we have considerable evidence, both experimental and empirical, that the study of Latin can and does help the students' knowledge of the meaning and spelling of English words which are derived either directly or indirectly from Latin; that it gives him an increased knowledge of English grammar and, what is more important, results in his writing and speaking English more correctly; that it increases his ability to read English with correct understanding.⁶

⁵ Cf. A. J. Inglis, *Principles of Secondary Education*: Boston, Houghton, Mifflin (1918), 428-474; C. E. Bennett and G. P. Bristol, *The Teaching of Greek and Latin in the Secondary School*: New York, Longmans, Green (1899), Chapter 1.

⁶ Cf. references cited in my *Outline and Bibliography of a Latin Teachers Course*, 5-7.

It is also quite generally agreed that the translation of Latin into English *may* greatly improve the student's ability to express his thoughts effectively in English. The Classical Report showed beyond a reasonable doubt that none of these outcomes will be realized to any great extent unless a conscious effort is made by the teacher to bring them about. We cannot dodge the fact that these application objectives must be considered a very important part of the whole picture of student attainment in Latin. Another fact, however, which seems to me just as self evident is that a Latin class in which Latin is not read is a misnomer. Of course Latin teachers should exert all their energy to bring about an improved knowledge of English in their students. In acquiring a knowledge of forms, vocabulary, and syntax necessary to read Latin, the student's attention will constantly be directed to the connection between English and Latin. In co-operation with the department of English, the Latin teacher will watch his students' written English as to the spelling and correct use of Latin derivatives. The student will not be asked to translate Latin into English until the teacher is sure that he thoroughly understands the meaning of the passage. Translation will then be an exercise of the student's ability to express the meaning of the Latin passage in good idiomatic English. The chief business of a Latin class in my judgment is to read Latin, and there is no better way to insure the attainment of these application objectives than to read Latin, if some such procedure as outlined above is followed. ✓

What shall we do with the third educational objective, the social-historical. As is well known, the current fashion in the educational world is so to educate our children that they will understand and help solve the many baffling social and economic problems which confront us in these changing times. A certain extreme school of so-called progressive educators maintains that the program of our secondary schools should center on the social sciences with the languages, natural science, and other factual subjects acting as handmaidens to Queen Social Reconstruction, and rather humble maidservants at that. I do not agree with these extremists, but I do believe that it is very important that the modern high-school student should be vitally interested in the

world about him and that the study of Latin can and should give him a perspective for viewing the society and economics of twentieth-century America—a perspective which will remain with him throughout life. You are without doubt familiar with the suggestions along this line made by Professor Ullman.⁷

Two interesting attempts to make the social-historical objective a vital part of the Latin class have recently come to my attention—one by Miss Florence Waterman, of the Winsor School, Boston, where an entire year was given to a comparison of the Greek city-state and the modern city; the other by Miss Julia Jones, of the Tower Hill School, Wilmington, Delaware, who in connection with the departments of ancient history, manual training, music, art, dancing, dramatics, and home economics presented an elaborate Cretan play. Such an integration of the classical department with the other departments of the high school is much to be desired. I wager that in both of these schools Latin is a vital part of the curriculum. However, a word of warning here—we must not allow the sideshow to swallow the circus. The mores of the Greeks and Romans can best be understood by reading their literature, and such worthwhile projects as outlined above should grow out of the classroom reading. I take the position, therefore, that this social-historical objective is a very important one for Latin as well as for every other subject in the modern high school, and that the study of Latin can and should be very valuable to any boy or girl who wishes to get an understanding of the modern world, which is so largely a lineal descendant of the Graeco-Roman civilization. These values will not come by accident, but the teacher must know what is going on in the world about him and make very effort to connect the content of the Latin being read with twentieth century thought and life.

I do not claim to be a semi-Solomon, but it seems to me that there is no need to divorce these educational objectives from the objective of reading Latin. I think that the students who take Latin for two years or less should read as much Latin as possible.

⁷ Cf. B. L. Ullman, "Cicero and Modern Politics," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXX (1935), 385-402; "Political Questions Suggested by Cicero's Orations," *Latin Notes*, Supplement No. 27, American Classical League, New York University.

and in doing so these educational objectives will be accomplished better than by turning the Latin class into a class in etymology or social science.

I wish to introduce my discussion of the objective of reading Latin by a quotation from Mr. Goodwin B. Beach's report as chairman of a committee appointed by the Classical Association of New England "to make apparent to the public the value of classical studies." The report says:

As instruction in reading English and other modern languages begins with suitable and attractive material, so should it in Latin, and advancement in depth and breadth of reading should keep pace with the students' age and growth in understanding. Therefore it is your Committee's opinion that adherence to classical Latin is not of prime importance, as its excellencies cannot be appreciated by beginners: if they can be induced to continue reading, they may be brought to read and appreciate the best authors: if, however, they cannot be induced to continue or are driven from further study by material inappropriate to their age and distasteful, they have gained little or nothing from reading the best authors.⁸

By all means we should read Latin of a content which will interest the boys and girls in our classes, but these students must actually read the Latin and not pretend to do so. I have set forth my ideas on this subject in several papers which have appeared in recent numbers of the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* and *Latin Notes*.⁹ In this paper I wish to discuss how we can measure objectively the students' ability to read Latin and their knowledge of forms, syntax, and vocabulary. The limits of such a paper prevent a discussion of tests for measuring the attainment of the social-historical and application objectives. I do not believe that final tests are needed for these objectives, but informal tests should be given frequently throughout the course. As I have said, the satisfactory accomplishment of worth-while objectives will keep Latin in the curriculum. A discussion of the best way in which to learn to read Latin is beyond the scope of this paper, but, as you know, there is a sharp divisions of opinion on this matter. Probably the majority of

⁸ *Annual Bulletin of the Classical Association of New England* (1936), 4.

⁹ Cf. Mark E. Hutchinson, "Realism in Latin Teaching," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, XXX (1935), 477-489; "The Reading Method—Is it Practicable in Latin?" *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXXI (1936), 289-302; "A Plea to the Progressive Teacher of Latin," *Latin Notes*, XIII (1935), No. 2, 1 f.

teachers think that it is necessary for the students to have a recall knowledge of forms, constructions, and vocabulary in order to read Latin, but on the other hand it is maintained by an increasing number of teachers that the ability to read demands only a recognition knowledge of vocabulary, etc. in context. The kind of test used must therefore depend on which of these two theories the teacher follows. The remainder of this paper will consider the technique of making objective tests on the comprehension of Latin — tests which examine (a) a recall knowledge and (b) a recognition knowledge of vocabulary, forms, and syntax.

MEASUREMENT OF COMPREHENSION OF LATIN

Of course the ability to translate a Latin passage is one way to measure the student's comprehension of the passage, but we also need tests in which students can indicate the meaning of the Latin without being required to translate it into English. A translation is more than a test of the student's ability to understand the meaning of the Latin; it also is a test of his ability to express the meaning of the Latin in English. Furthermore it is very difficult to score a number of translations in a uniform way. The examiner cannot always be sure whether the student has missed the meaning of the passage or is unable to bring out the meaning when he turns it into English. There is therefore a real need, it seems to me, of highly objective tests on the comprehension of Latin not to supplant, but to supplement the use of translation. Tests on the comprehension of Latin may be grouped into three general types as follows:

1. *Paragraph-question type*, i.e., a paragraph in Latin followed by questions on the context. The objection to this type of comprehension test is that it is difficult to answer objectively. The answers to the questions can vary to such an extent that those scoring the tests may differ in deciding whether the answers are correct. However, such tests are entirely satisfactory for daily or weekly tests. I would not use them as final tests.

2. *Multiple-response type*, i.e., a paragraph in Latin followed by questions on the context with five suggested responses, only one of which is correct, given for each question. The student checks the

correct answer. This type of test must be very carefully made, since it is absolutely necessary that one and only one of the answers be correct. There will of course be some guessing on the part of the students but, if the test is long enough, it is highly probable that the right and wrong guesses will balance each other. For that matter, do our students never guess when they translate? The questions and suggested responses should be in English rather than Latin. Otherwise the students may not understand the question or they may merely check the correct Latin response which has been taken from the passage being read without understanding what it means.

3. *True-false type*, i.e., a paragraph in Latin followed by true-false statements on its meaning. Such a test is generally scored by subtracting the number of wrong answers from the number of correct answers. The student checks each statement as true or false. This type of test can be used with sentences but the paragraph is a better medium.

The ingenious teacher will use many devices in checking his student's comprehension of Latin, such as supplying missing words in a Latin sentence from several that are suggested, correcting an error in the translation of a Latin sentence by selecting the best from a list of suggestions, etc. However, for a final test on Latin comprehension he should use one of the three types suggested above, preferably Number 2.

VOCABULARY TESTS

Recall Knowledge

1. The student gives the English meaning of a list of Latin words or vice versa.

Recognition Knowledge

1. Multiple-response type, i.e., a list of Latin words is given with five suggested meanings supplied. The student checks the correct meaning of each word.
2. Matching type, i.e., two columns of words, the one Latin and the other English. The Latin words are numbered and the student puts the number of the Latin word after its English equivalent.
3. A paragraph of Latin has cer-

tain words underlined. The student is tested on his ability to recognize the meaning of these underlined words by either the multiple-response or matching technique.

4. The student supplies the missing word in a Latin sentence from five suggestions.

Example: *Magister vidit*

pueros in ludum——.

(a), *putare*, (b) *venire*, (c) *docere*,
(d) *capere*, (e) *ducere*

Of the four types of tests I have given above I prefer No. 3 because the student is meeting the words in context. Unless the teacher wishes to train his pupils to write Latin, the student should be asked to recognize the English meaning of the Latin word and not vice versa.

FORM TESTS

Recall Knowledge

1. A list of Latin verbs is given and the student is asked to write certain designated forms.

2. A list of Latin nouns, pronouns, and adjectives is given and the student is asked to write certain designated forms.

3. Supplying the endings for indicated forms of nouns, pronouns, verbs, etc.

4. Giving the proper Latin forms of italicized words or expressions in English sentences.

Example: Where is my *son's* dog?

Recognition Knowledge

1. Multiple-response type, i.e., a list of verb forms is given with four suggested translations, only one of which is correct. The student checks the correct translation.

Example:

monebam

(a) I was warning, (b), I shall warn, (c) I have warned, (d) I warn.

2. A list of Latin verb, noun, or adjective forms is given and the student indicates the form of each by placing a check in the proper column and row.¹⁰

3. A paragraph of Latin has certain words underlined. The student is tested on his ability to recognize the forms of these words by either of the two techniques given above.

4. A list of Latin forms is given as in Number 2, but the student indicates the person, number, case, voice, etc., of the forms by writing rather than checking. This type of a test is not so easily scored as Number 2.¹¹

The student is being tested for recall knowledge when he is asked to call up from memory the form desired. His recognition knowledge is being tested when he recognizes what the form is when he sees it either in isolation or in context, preferably the latter.

SYNTAX TESTS

Recall Knowledge

1. Either a Latin or English sentence is given, and the student is asked to name the construction and give the syntactical rule illustrated by the underlined word or words. The translation of the Latin sentence is generally provided.

2. An English sentence is given with a word or phrase underlined. The student is asked to put the underlined word or words into their correct Latin form and name the construction.

3. Various types of completion exercises in which part of the sentence is omitted and the student is required to put in the correct form and indicate the construction.

Recognition Knowledge

1. Matching exercise, i.e., a list of Latin sentences is given in which certain words or phrases are underlined. Below the sentences is a numbered list of rules or names of constructions. The student matches the rules with the underlined words or phrases.

2. Multiple-response type, i.e., an English sentence is given with four different translations into Latin. These translations differ only in the rendering of a certain word or phrase. The student is asked to indicate the correct translation. This exercise tests for recognition but for English into Latin rather than vice versa.

3. The techniques described in 1 and 2 may be combined into one test.

4. A Latin paragraph has certain words or phrases underlined. The student is tested on his ability to recognize the syntactical usage of these words or phrases by the same technique described in No. 1.

5. A variation of No. 1 is to use a description of the syntactical usage rather than the technical name as "by whom something is done" instead of ablative of agent.

As was the case with forms, if a student recognizes the syntactical usage when he sees it in a piece of connected Latin, he has a recognition knowledge of syntax. If his teacher considers a recognition knowledge of syntax the aim of his teaching, he should not test his students on recall knowledge. On the other hand, if the teacher wishes his students to be able to recall the syntactical

usage for writing Latin and for training in formal syntax, his tests should demand such ability in his students.

It is conceivable that some teachers may wish to give both recognition and recall tests to their students. It is to be hoped, however, that an instructor will not teach his students that only a recognition knowledge is necessary for reading and then set before them a test which demands recall knowledge or vice versa. It has been my experience that an intelligent testing program clarifies the aims of teaching and makes the teaching procedure more definite and efficient.

		<i>Form Test, Type 2</i>			
¹⁰ Form	Nom.	Gen.	Dat.	Acc.	Abl.
<i>stilos</i>	Sing.				
	Plu.				
<i>virī</i>	Sing.				
	Plu.				

<i>Form</i>	Pres.	Imperf.	Fut.	Perf.	Pluperf.	F. Perf.
<i>capiebam</i>	Act.					
	Pass.					
<i>dictus est</i>	Act.					
	Pass.					

		<i>Form Test, Type 4</i>						
¹¹ <i>Form</i>	<i>Nouns</i>				<i>Pronouns</i>			
	Decl.	Gender	No.	Case	Pers.	Gender	No.	Case
<i>viro</i>								
<i>quas</i>								
<i>duci</i>								

		<i>Form Test, Type 4</i>				
<i>Form</i>		<i>Verbs</i>				
	Conj.	Voice	Mood	Tense	Per.	No.
<i>amabat</i>						
<i>ducet</i>						
<i>dixerunt</i>						

CICERO'S HUMANISM TODAY¹

By GEORGE P. HAYES
Agnes Scott College

In a day like the present, when the very bases of our civilization are being scrutinized critically, when the old structure of society is visibly giving way in places and the new edifice has not been decided upon, some light may be thrown upon the situation if we decide first what our objective is in the remaking of society. Probably we would all agree that our ultimate aim is man himself—the creation of a higher type of humanity. When we ask ourselves what sort of man we wish to create and how we are to go about creating him, I would propose for our consideration the ideal set forth by Cicero in his philosophical and other works.

Not that Cicero originated this ideal in its entirety—he borrowed heavily from Plato and Aristotle; but, in the words of that keen and charming Latinist, E. K. Rand, who has been my guide and philosopher throughout, Cicero was the one

who, so far as the records of literature allow us to see, first discussed and consciously portrayed the ideal that he called *humanitas* and who was the very type of that ideal for Lactantius and St. Jerome in the fourth century, for Bernard of Chartres and John of Salisbury in the twelfth, and for Petrarch and Poggio, for Bembo and Erasmus in the new humanism of the Renaissance.²

Cicero's conception centers round his discussion of the words *humanus* and *humanitas*. What does he mean by these terms? I quote Professor Rand again:

¹ This paper was read before the Alpha Delta Chapter of Eta Sigma Phi at Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Ga., on February 17, 1936.

² E. K. Rand "The Humanism of Cicero," *Proceedings Amer. Philos. Soc.*, LXXI, (1932), 207.

To Cicero, clearly, the adjective *humanus* connotes not so much "humane"—though this idea is included too—as "humanized," "civilized." *Humanitas* is the quality that one acquires in the process of developing the best that there is in human nature. A man thus humanized will be the opposite of "wild," "brutal," "bestial." He will be mild, gentle, merciful, compassionate, benevolent. He will be loyal to duty, upright, virtuous. He will have the social graces, possessing tact, courtesy, forbearance of others, *savoir faire*. In a group of cultivated people he will contribute his share to the conversation, master of the ready word, of wit, of banter, of urbanity. These diverse accomplishments, and others related to them, are exhibited by the contexts in which Cicero has set the word *humanus* or by the adjective with which it is paired. In contrast with the *homo ferus*, "the wild man," they present a mirror of the gentle-man.

If we turn from Professor Rand's definition to Cicero's works themselves, we discover certain leading ideas emerging which are different in important respects from widely prevalent modern conceptions of man.

First, as to man's nature. Cicero writes:³

The nature and powers of the mind are twofold; one consists in appetite, by the Greeks called *δρμή*, "impulse," which hurries man hither and thither; the other is reason, which teaches and explains what we are to do and what we are to avoid. The result is that reason should direct and appetite obey.

Here we have a clear-cut dualism borrowed from the Greeks. A person becomes "human" in Cicero's sense only as he masters the passions and places them in the service of reason. "Humanity" is something to be worked for, to be achieved through moral struggle and self-discipline. One has to be "molded into humanism" or to "learn how to become human." To be "human" is not a birth-right, it is not a state or condition of the natural, undisciplined self; and it does not consist primarily in feeling but in reason, which guides the feelings to human ends or purposes.

How opposed is this idea to the sentimentalism of the eighteenth century or the romanticism of the nineteenth, when emotion was everything—*Gefühl ist alles*—when one's status as a man and a poet was determined by the keenness of one's sensibility, when to be human was to *feel*!

The same contrast appears in the moral standards of the Cice-

³ *De Offic.* I, 28 (Edmonds translation).

ronian as compared with those of the romanticist or the sentimentalist. To the latter, virtue consisted in "goodness of heart," which meant an expansive emotionalism; whereas to Cicero the whole praise of virtue was in *action*.⁴ Modern humanitarianism is not to be confused with Cicero's *humanitas*. Humanitarianism is the cult of sympathy for the under-dog; *humanitas*, while including the idea of sympathy, involved primarily an element of self-discipline, of control.

If, then, to be "human" meant to Cicero a state to be reached only by study and self-discipline, obviously the conception is aristocratic in the sense that, although Cicero believed everyone has the power of self-mastery through the exercise of the reason and can therefore become "human" if he chooses, still in practice only certain people exercise that privilege, and they alone are the salt of the earth. This conception of an aristocracy of the worthy is closely parallel to the Christian doctrine of election, and is to be contrasted with the equalitarian democracy of, let us say, Walt Whitman. The humanist and the Christian believe that those who have taken on the bonds of self-discipline can then come together in a society from which others who have not so limited themselves must be excluded. An element of selection is involved here. On the other hand the equalitarian Walt Whitman would try to form a society of all men on the basis of their natural undisciplined selves, on an expansive emotionalism alone, which Whitman calls sympathy or love.

Doubtless this aristocratic conception may easily lead to an attitude of disdain and aloofness toward those outside the magic circle. One need not maintain that Cicero's humanism was without flaw, and doubtless there is a certain haughtiness toward the unlettered multitude in many of the ancients, including Cicero,⁵ and in the humanists of the Renaissance as well. However, in Cicero's conception there were several elements which make against a self-centered and exclusive attitude. For example, he endorses the famous maxim of Terence, *Humani nihil a me alienum puto*,⁶ "an eternal expression of universal human sympathy." Then he con-

⁴ *De Re Publica* 1, 2.

⁵ *De Offic.* 1, 150.

⁶ *De Legibus* 1, 33.

ceives of a type of friendship which loves one's neighbor as oneself.⁷ Again, following Plato and Aristotle, he believes in the imitation of models; that is, one should hold before his mind the image or pattern of the perfect man and try to live accordingly.⁸ Before such a model one is necessarily humble. Furthermore, the aim of one's life should be service to the state, not self-advancement.⁹ And finally, beyond all the things of this world is the divine, to whom ultimate devotion is due.¹⁰

But the central emphasis in Cicero's humanism is on the law of measure and balance, symmetry and moderation, the "nothing too much" of Greek philosophy and literature, the *aurea mediocritas* of Horace. Aristotle in his *Ethics* illustrates the theory by contrasting the extremes of rashness and cowardice with the happy mean of courage, or the extremes of stinginess and prodigality with liberality in giving. Cicero in his *De Officiis* applies this principle in detail to the world of every-day affairs. He is especially sound in his application of the law of balance to the vexed question of the active versus the meditative life. On the one hand Plato had favored unduly the contemplative existence; we today just as clearly sacrifice meditation to action and so fall into superficiality. Cicero holds the scales even, enriching daily existence with the truths of the inner life of the reason.

Cicero's humanism is largely summed up in his statement that man alone of living creatures goes feeling after "the discovery of an order, a law of good taste, a measure for his words and actions."¹¹

How was Cicero's humanism to be realized? Partly, as we have seen, by self-discipline; partly by a program of study set up in the schools. This program was derived in large part from the Greeks. Its subjects were in general the physical and biological sciences, literature, history, government, music, economics, the art of speech, and, above all, philosophy.¹² These were the liberal arts, the *artes liberales*, which were taken over by the church in a some-

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 34.

⁸ *De Re Publica* I, 52. Cf. Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Ethics*, *passim*.

⁹ *De Re Publica* I, 8; VI, 29.

¹⁰ *De Legibus* II, 15 f.

¹¹ Matthew Arnold, *Essays in Criticism*, First Series: New York, Macmillan (1930), 48.

¹² Cf. Cicero, *De Oratore* and Aubrey Gwynn, *Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian*: Oxford (1926) especially chapter VI.

what narrowed form, were expanded during the Renaissance with an increased emphasis on the ancient classics, and constitute the basis of our liberal arts college of today—except in so far as our system of education has been undermined by purely professional courses in education, journalism, and the like.

Such was the humanism of Cicero. What it lacked, says Irving Babbitt, is humility.¹³ Stoic pride comes from the fact that the human reason is largely self-reliant; it does not sufficiently seek support in the divine. Ciceronian humanism also lacked what Chesterton calls "the gay and exuberant virtues, of faith, hope, and charity."¹⁴ All of these elements were supplied by Christianity. The conception of divine grace carries with it the idea of man's humility, and Paul expresses the Christian ideal of faith, hope, and charity in the famous chapter in *Corinthians*.

When humanism and Christianity meet and mingle, we have Christian humanism, perhaps the finest ideal ever conceived by man. An excellent account of how the Church absorbed the humanism of Cicero and was broadened by it is to be found in Professor Rand's *Founders of the Middle Ages*. There we learn that an element of humanism was present in the church before the influence of Cicero was felt. "St. Paul laid the foundation of Christian humanism."¹⁵

Finally, brethren whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.¹⁶

What finer humanism could there be than that? But the later Church was not always so broad as this; hence the importance of Cicero's influence in enriching the viewpoint and lives of the Latin Church Fathers of the fourth century and again of such leaders as Bernard of Chartres and John of Salisbury in the twelfth century.¹⁷ Professor J. B. Fletcher has found the same influence strongly at

¹³ *On Being Creative*: Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co. (1932), xvi. Cf. *De Re Publica* vi, 26 and *De Legibus* i, 22 f.

¹⁴ Quoted from E. K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages*: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1928), 81.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 35.

¹⁶ *Philippians* iv, 8.

¹⁷ Rand, *op. cit.*, Chapters II, III, IV, VII.

work in Dante.¹⁸ Even in the Middle Ages, then, the need was felt for the thought and poetry and inspiration of the classics, especially Cicero.

During the Renaissance, as is well known, humanism became the dominant trend, with Cicero as the central influence in the work of Petrarch and many later writers. Perhaps the finest of the Renaissance humanists was Erasmus, who in an age of extremists both Catholic and Protestant maintained a middle position of balance and moderation.

Cicero's ideal of *humanitas* enters especially into the Renaissance conception of the gentleman as seen in Castiglione's courtier, who is courageous as a knight, wise as a counselor of princes and as a leader in actions of state, intelligent in conversation, graceful and gallant with ladies, athletic and musical, and devoted to literature, the arts and the sciences, philosophy and religion. The central fact about him is the symmetrical cultivation of all sides of his nature, as opposed to a specialized development of any one aspect.

From Italy this conception of the ideal man spread to France, where the gentleman became known as the *honnête homme*. His all-round cultivation was shown by the fact that, as La Rochefoucauld said, he did not pride himself on anything. In England the medieval knight became at the Renaissance, under the influence of humanism, the gentleman and the scholar, an ideal realized by Sir Philip Sidney and others. This tradition has vitally molded the lives of Englishmen for centuries, partly through the influence of a society of men who embodied it in themselves, partly through the study in the schools and universities of the liberal arts, especially the classics, which had given definitive expression to the ideal. It is significant that Cardinal Newman, who has given us the best definition of the gentleman, acknowledges that the sole important influence on his style was Cicero. Even today that tradition, with something of the breadth and refinement of culture which it implies, lives on at Oxford and Cambridge.

Except to a certain extent in special localities and for limited

¹⁸ *Literature of the Italian Renaissance*: New York, Macmillan (1934). 29 ff.

periods of time it may be questioned whether we in this country have produced gentlemen in the full meaning of the term as defined by writers from Castiglione to Newman. Charles Eliot Norton used to say to his Harvard classes, "Probably none of you has ever seen a gentleman." Whatever results have been achieved in that direction by the liberal arts college are threatened by the junior colleges, by the spread of professional training courses in the arts curriculum, and by the trend toward premature and excessive specialization.

But this brief survey of a great movement would be incomplete unless we ask ourselves what criticism the true Ciceronian humanist, if there were one among us, would pass upon the life of today. Cicero himself took from the Greeks the elements of thought which he considered were adapted to the Roman character and traditions and which were needed by the Romans to round out their viewpoint. His method involved a knowledge of the past, but even more it required high critical powers to bring that knowledge to bear upon the age in which he lived.

At this point, then, the Ciceronian humanist would proceed to an examination of the present in the light of his conception of man. He would ask himself to what extent the institutions and people of today are humanized, and exactly where progress needs to be made. Perhaps he would wonder whether the following words of T. S. Eliot are true: "the difficult discipline is the discipline and training of emotion; this the modern world has great need of; so great need that it hardly understands what the word means." Turning to another problem, our humanist might, remembering Cicero's laudation of statesmanship as a career, ask himself why in this country the finest men do not aspire, as in England, to public life. Glancing at our churches, he might examine to what extent a humanization of religion, in the spirit of Erasmus for example, might supply faith with a broader basis and give to worship more of "the *beauty* of holiness." In the field of education he might determine whether the movement toward free electives and early specialization in the liberal college is not going too far—whether, that is, our trend toward the expansion of the curriculum should not be modified, in the interest of individual balance and

all-round development, by an era of concentration in which the essentials of a liberal education would be more largely prescribed for all students.

Everywhere he would look especially for the signs that point toward the dehumanization of man. Man is dehumanized by the system of industry which regards him as a tool or a machine rather than a human being. He is dehumanized by his excessive preoccupation with economic problems, so that he tends to think in terms of economic forces rather than in human terms. He is dehumanized by the system of philosophy which regards him as the passive victim of forces environmental and hereditary. Under the influence of these and other forces the humanities themselves have been in part dehumanized. Where this has occurred, the result has been a literature desiccated, trivial, esoteric, materialistic, or pessimistic.

These are mere suggestions as to a few of the possible implications of a Ciceronian humanism applied to the life of today. The purpose of such a study is not to repudiate the age in which one lives, but to render it more complete by supplying it with elements essential to the fuller development of the higher nature of man.

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent directly to Roy C. Flickinger, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.]

IAMQUE ADEO

How commentators each dark passage shun
And hold a farthing candle to the sun!

An abundance of farthing candles has been kindled to illuminate *adeo*. Poor old Sidgwick, as an elder colleague would refer to him in a spirit of kindly sabotage, wrote to *Aeneid* VIII, 585: "a mere enclitic. . . and requires often no translation." To confuse an enclitic with a postpositive is muddled thinking and to say it requires no translation is sheer defeatism. The solution of the puzzle is to be found in the correption of a minor formula of thought plucked hot from the colloquial idiom. *Phormio* 55 is a key passage: *adeo res redit*, "The affair has gone so far." Then correpted in the *Andria* 440, *aut si adeo*, i.e., *aut si adeo res redit*. From this it is no long jump to *Aeneid* II, 567: *iamque adeo super unus eram*, "By this time the havoc had gone so far that I alone was left."

Incidentally, the *que* in *iamque* is not "and"; we regularly find *iam tandem* and *iam demum* but usually *iamque adeo*, just as we have *atque* and *neque* before vowels. Nevertheless, because *adeo res redit* defines the stage reached in the action, *iamque adeo* becomes an approximate equivalent of *iam tandem* and *iam demum*. *Aeneid* V, 268: *iamque adeo donati omnes*. . . "At length all had been presented with their prizes"; the implication, however, is that the ceremonies had proceeded to this point. The difference may be further illustrated by another example: *vix tandem adgnovit* would denote only delayed action, but in *Aeneid* VI, 498, *vix adeo adgnovit* means *vix, adeo deformatus est, adgnovit*, "With difficulty he recognized Deiphobus, he was so mutilated."

There is no need to make mystery of *adeo*. It is a pure Latin

product and equivalent to no Greek particle. It tends to be post-positive but it is not enclitic; neither is it an intensive particle. The treatment by Lewis and Short starts from false premises and arrives at worse conclusions. Both *ad* and *eo* imply motion toward; combined, they may denote addition to, like English "thereto," or "up to a point." They are cemented together by semantic concord, not by the case nexus as in *ad urbem*. A force that translators usually fumble is "thereto," "besides," "what's more." *Aeneid* III, 203: *tres adeo incertos caeca caligine soles*, "What's more, for full three dawnless days. . ." *Ibid.* IV, 533: *sic adeo insistit*, "More tragic still, she starts to soliloquize like this. . ." In short, because this particle is condensed from a short sentence, it is capable of releasing a smart static charge of emphasis. Vergil shared his partiality for it with Plautus and Terence.

NORMAN W. DEWITT

VICTORIA COLLEGE

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

THE GREEKS HAVE FOUND A WAY FOR IT

For years the friends of Greek have witnessed the gradual but seemingly inexorable disappearance of that language from the high schools of America without being able to think of anything to stop it. But now the American Greeks have snatched up a weapon which has long been wielded by other foreign groups in this country. They have begun to petition boards of education to allow modern Greek to be taught in the high schools, and have been able in some instances to meet the requirements with which such requests must comply. Thus three classes with an aggregate of 100 students were started in the Austin High School in Chicago year before last. Within a year they had six sections with over 200 students (one class consisting of non-Greeks), and now have 165 in five sections and a waiting list (!) of between 60 and 70. Last year the subject was introduced at the Amundsen High School, where there are now 135 registrants in four classes; and this year 102 students were enrolled for the first time at the Englewood High School. It is hoped that the expansion can be continued into other schools both in Chicago and elsewhere. But I cannot discover

that much progress has been made elsewhere as yet, though the Greek societies intend to push the plan wherever it seems feasible. In Cleveland night classes are likely to be established soon; and in Boston an attempt was made to introduce it in the curriculum, but not enough pupils could be assembled in any one school to make a class. Several officials have mentioned this difficulty, and of course it was partly responsible for the dropping of ancient Greek, even in large cities. (Incidentally New York City reports that three high schools have small classes in ancient Greek, and Baltimore has one with twenty-one boys enrolled.) For example, Los Angeles has some 350,000 pupils in its public schools of all grades scattered over an area of 1100 square miles, but only 409 in the elementary schools, 350 in junior and senior high schools, 10 in junior college, and 47 in adult and evening classes state that their racial background is Grecian. On the other hand, there are 8158 Japanese students in the same classifications, and the authorities have been able in only one instance to maintain a class in that language.

The Chicago classes are in charge of Dr. George J. Drossos, who complains that there are no suitable textbooks at present. Temporarily he is using readers and grammars prepared for the public schools of Greece and supplements them with mimeographed sheets, board work, oral explanations, etc. He hopes to have a text of his own ready soon. Of course the work starts under the direct method, and the modern pronunciation is used; but the teachers stress that the Greek language is a unity, though falling into different periods of growth. The New Testament, *Anabasis*, and other easy texts in ancient Greek are introduced into the course as soon as possible.

Their most urgent problem at present is whether the colleges will accept this work for entrance. Loyola University (Chicago) has already indicated that "We will treat this the same as all modern languages and are willing even to combine it with the ancient Greek." Other universities and colleges in the Middle West are likely to find such students on their doorsteps in the near future, and it is advisable for the classical departments of schools in this area to consider what attitude they intend to adopt in this

matter and how they will treat such students if any of them should desire to continue Greek in college. There should be little difficulty if college teachers have some acquaintance with modern Greek and its pronunciation. It has been suggested that now we might well adopt this pronunciation for teaching ancient Greek, but we need not be in a hurry about taking that step.

All this represents something quite different from what our first choice would be, but at least it is a slight eddy in a tide which has not brought much comfort to Greek teachers in many a day.

ROY C. FLICKINGER

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

FREE DINNERS

Pliny the Younger writes to his wife's grandfather (iv, 1, 4-6) that he has built a temple at Tifernum Tiberinum, as patron of the town. He is going up for the dedication, and will give a dinner, apparently for the community: *Erimus ergo ibi dedicationis die, quem epulo celebrare constitui*. Inscriptions show that such dinners for a community were not uncommon, whether presented by an individual in person or by will, for one occasion or annually; e.g., cf. *C.I.L.* ix, 1503 and 1618; x, 5849 and 5853; and xiv, 2120.

However, foundations for such a purpose are less common in our time. For that reason the Thanksgiving dinner of Michigantown, Indiana, is noteworthy. When Ophir Davis, of that town, died in 1929, he created a trust fund of two thousand dollars, the income from which was to furnish a Thanksgiving dinner for the permanent residents of the town. In 1937 newspapers announced that an oyster supper was planned for the three hundred and fifty guests who were expected to attend.

MARY JOHNSTON

MACMURRAY COLLEGE
JACKSONVILLE, ILL.

"NICEAN BARKS" ONCE MORE

Helen, thy beauty is to me
 Like those Nicean barks of yore,
 That gently, o'er a perfumed sea,
 The weary, way-worn wanderer bore
 Unto his native shore.

—Poe, "To Helen"

The meaning of the words "Nicean barks" has long been a matter of debate among scholars. Students of English literature have suggested that the name is connected (1) with Nike, "Victory"; (2) with the town of Nicaea (Nice) in France; (3) with the island of Nysa, for the adjective form of which, "Nyseian," it is considered a misspelling; (4) with the ships of Alexander; and (5) with the word "Phaeacian," because "the weary, way-worn wanderer" is supposed to be Ulysses.¹

These views were not convincing to readers of the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*. Taking a hint from Catullus xxxi and xlvi Professor A. H. Weston associates the barks with vessels built in Nicaea in Asia Minor.² Professor H. C. Lipscomb is inclined to agree "with those scholars . . . who feel that the passage when left unexplained opens more readily magic casements on perilous seas."³ In a third note Professor John W. Beach writes as follows: "Poe may have thought of 'the Nicean barks' as engaged in carrying spices and perfumes, or he may have thought of the wanderer as fastidious enough to carry with him a sufficient stock to sweeten one bark."⁴ Finally, Professor MacLean regards it as impossible to give a specific interpretation to "Nicean."⁵

In spite of the foolhardiness of attempting to make "Nicean" mean something, I am offering still another suggestion. In Theocritus XII, 27 there occurs the following line:

¹ Four of the suggestions are given, at second-hand and in less condensed form, by Arthur H. Weston, "The 'Nicean barks' of Edgar Allan Poe," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxix (1933), 213.

² *Ibid.* 214 f.

³ Cf. *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxix (1934), 454.

⁴ *Ibid.* 454-456.

⁵ Cf. Robert A. MacLean, *Poets and Poetry*: Rochester, N. Y., the Author (1933), 11; quoted in *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxix (1934), 540.

Νισαῖοι Μεγαρήες ἀριστέοντες ἐπέρμοις.

From this quotation we learn that the men of Megarian Nisaea or Nisea were superlative oarsmen. Doubtless their skill in handling boats helped to give them confidence to engage in maritime commerce and to seek suitable places for colonization in distant lands. Megara's "penetration of the Pontic region in spite of the distance and the difficulties of navigation offered by the rough waters of the Propontis speaks much for the bravery of her sailors."⁶ "Nisaeon (or Nisean) barks" would, therefore, mean something very definite. Poe does use a different spelling, but, since the pronunciation is the same in English, is it significant? Scores of classical scholars who have helped to delay the advent of a spelling millennium by writing "millenium" will understand how readily Poe could have changed *s* to *c*.

It is not necessary to show that the barks of Nisea were beautiful. I have read that the only place where Stephen C. Foster, the author of "Old Folks at Home" (or "Swanee Ribber"), saw the stream he endeared to thousands was in a geography book in which he was making a search for a musical name. For Poe, as for him, the beauty of a proper name was sufficient. That Poe sought for euphonious names we may be certain from such examples as Clytia, Eulalie, Lalage, and Porphyrogene. "Nicean" is worthy of a place beside them.

I claim nothing for my suggestion except that it is plausible. Poe's classical attainments were remarkable, and he must have been familiar with Theocritus. One need not suppose that there is any classical allusion in the last three lines of the stanza quoted.

EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

⁶ Cf. E. L. Highbarger, *The History and Civilization of Ancient Megara*, Part I: Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press (1927), 118 f. This work is No. 2 of the "Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology."

Book Reviews

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

E. H. WARMINGTON, *Greek Geography* (Library of Greek Thought): London, J. M. Dent and Sons; New York, E. P. Dutton and Company (1934). Pp. xlviii+269. 5s.; \$1.90.

The purpose of this volume is, of course, the same as that of all the volumes of this series—the presentation, with an explanatory introduction, of source material (translated into English) on some one subject in which Greek thought has proved important to the world.

Mr. Warmington has divided his source material on geography into four sections: cosmological; climatological, physical, and political; descriptive and exploratory; and mathematical and cartographical. Within each section the sources are arranged chronologically, ranging from Homer to Strabo. Every phase of Greek geography is covered, save that in the descriptive section writers on the detailed geography of Greece are omitted. One wishes for a passage from, say, Dicaearchus to show how well, and with what limitations, the Greeks entered the guide-book field.

The author shows that after an early union with philosophy, illustrated by the section on cosmology, Greek geography became independent. Attention was turned from the *κόσμος* to the *οικουμένη*, inhabited land mass. The Greeks described the Mediterranean and the Black Sea; Pytheas of Massilia explored as far as Ireland and the Elbe; Alexander doubled the sphere of geographical knowledge by his conquests; the problem of the Nile overflow, mooted since Thales, was solved. Cartography, com-

mencing with Anaximander, progressed to the fairly accurate map of Eratosthenes, who also measured the circumference of the earth surprisingly well. Descriptive and mathematical geography bulked largest in Greek geography, but the Greeks also paid attention to climatological and cultural geography.

Though the Greeks created geography as a science and were earnest seekers after truth, as the very extensive section on descriptive and exploratory geography demonstrates, the lack of instruments to measure distance and direction often caused them to put their facts together erroneously and to scorn the brilliant guesses of geographers who have since been proved correct. Around the Mediterranean shores, Greek geographical knowledge was extensive and accurate; the farther inland they penetrated, the less certain their knowledge; and often the accounts of explorers, such as Pytheas, were disbelieved or forgotten, while fables were perpetuated.

CHESTER G. STARR, JR.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

ALBERT B. PURDIE, *Latin Verse Inscriptions*: London, Christophers (1935). Pp. viii+203. 4s., 6d.

This little book is a worthy representative of the good use of selection and arrangement in the interests of simplification. From the fuller collections of *carmina epigraphica*, assembled in the *Corpus* and elsewhere, Purdie has chosen several hundred examples for their intrinsic interest and as illustrative of the Roman popular sentiment which forms their background. These he has organized, with running commentary, in three general categories—Epitaphs (12–110), Sacred Verse Inscriptions (111–171), and General (172–186), with appropriate topical subdivisions. Christian inscriptions are excluded. Each set of verse is equipped with a footnote that locates it, when possible, in the *Corpus* as well as in the collections of Buecheler, Cholodniak, and Engström, and states its provenience. The brief Introduction (1–11) deals principally with the purpose of the book, the work of predecessors in the field, and the human charm to be found in these inscriptional verses. The Bibliography (190–192) is adequate (the names Abbott, Ilwycz,

and Lissberger might be added) and well documented, and the topical Index (193-203) is quite full.

In this selection the reader will find not only the more familiar verse inscriptions, such as the Hymn of the Arval Brethren (132), the epitaphs of the Scipios (57-60), of Claudia (63), and of the Gallic hunting dog Margarita (109), and the long fourth-century epitaph of the senator Agorius Praetextatus, together with Glover's translation of it (29-31), but also many less famed but scarcely less worthy expressions of popular sentiment in verse—the epitaph (*C.I.L.* vi, 29436) on a slave and his young charge, Ummidia, "crushed to death in a crowd on the Capitol" (104), the tender verses (*C.I.L.* x, 659) on the dog "Pat" (110), the splendid hendecasyllabics (*C.I.L.* xiv, 3565) on Priapus (119 f.), and the Pompeian distich (*C.I.L.* iv, Suppl. 4091) that suggests the familiar refrain of the *Pervigilium Veneris* (182).

[quis]quis amat valeat, pereat qui nescit amare,
bis tanto pereat quisquis amare vetat.

These are but a few examples among many. Especially interesting are the sections on Death and the Various Professions and Trades (86-99), Violent and Accidental Deaths, including the Death of Animals (99-110), and the inscriptions from Pompeii (181-184). This latter portion might well have been longer.

Purdie disclaims any attempt to treat at length the metrics or the literary qualities of the inscriptions. He is above all interested in their subject matter, particularly as it reflects underlying popular ideas. He has something to say in passing about the evolutionary trend to be discerned in the composition of various types of inscribed verses (cf. 60-65) and furnishes some pertinent information concerning the history of several particular examples. His arrangement and discussion of the religious inscriptions are of special value. He reveals throughout a scholarly familiarity with the bibliography of his field and a wide acquaintance with illustrative classical literature, both Greek and Latin. In some cases cross-references might have sufficed in place of outright repetition, for which the author apologizes (6). In one instance such repetition has occasioned a slight contradiction: *C.I.L.* x, 2483

is noted on p. 65 as hailing from Baiae, which is correct, whereas on p. 163 it is said to have been "found at Rome." The book would be well served by the addition of a second index which would list either the first words of the included verses, as does Buecheler, or the numbers in the *Corpus* arranged according to volume.

But these are minor objections to a meritorious piece of work, sanely prepared and competently executed. Embracing as it does a wider scope than the comparable volumes of Galletier and Tolman it is at the same time more generally useful.

JOHN W. SPAETH, JR.

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY,
MIDDLETOWN, CONN.

P. J. ENK, *Handboek der Latijnse Letterkunde van de oudste Tijden tot het Optreden van Cicero, Tweede Deel: Het Tijdvak van letterkundige Ontwikkeling onder Invloed van het Hellenisme: 1. De Dichters Livius Andronicus, Naevius, en Plautus: Zutphen, W. J. Thieme & Cie. (1937). Two volumes, pp. 338 and 342. F. 12.*

These two volumes form the second part of a longer history of Latin Literature from the oldest times to the rise of Cicero. In them Dr. Enk treats the period of the advent of Hellenism to Rome, the period of Livius Andronicus, Naevius, and Plautus. His purpose, as stated in his Preface, is to stimulate interest in the reading of Latin authors, and to lead the way to a re-interpretation and re-appreciation of the writers of the earlier period, to whom, he feels, too little space has been allotted in the standard handbooks.

After an introductory chapter on the beginnings of Hellenic influence at Rome the author treats the lives, chronology, and writings of Livius and Naevius, and then Plautus, to whom he devotes roughly six-sevenths of the entire work. Each play of Plautus is dealt with in a separate chapter consisting of a sketch of the plot with copious quotations from the dialogue, discussions of the Greek original and its author, the Latin adaptation, and the date of presentation, and a critical estimate of the play itself. There are chapters also on the Plautine prologues, Plautus' treatment of his Greek models, and his influence on later literature.

Excellent and extensive bibliographies, both special and general, are included.

In consequence of the plan and purpose of Dr. Enk's book the literary aspect of the works under discussion is emphasized throughout, but the more technical problems are not neglected. All sides of each question are presented fairly, and the author is reasonable and moderate in the statement of his own views. Although this book is not intended for the specialist, he will read it with pleasure and derive considerable profit from its lucid summaries of special problems.

Owing to the fact that it is written in Dutch it will not enjoy in this country the popularity which it merits.

A. E. PAPPANO

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

CHARLESWORTH, MARTIN PERCIVAL, *Five Men, Character Studies from the Roman Empire*, Martin Classical Lectures VI: Harvard University Press (1936). \$2.00.

The lectures here published were delivered at Oberlin College in 1935, five stimulating and charming essays on phases of Roman imperial history as reflected in the careers of minor but most interesting persons—native ruler, philosopher, adventurer, administrator, and merchant.

In the first Charlesworth traces with wit and humor, yet with sympathy, the career of Agrippa I to exemplify the difficulties of both parties in the relations between the Empire and a client king. In conclusion the judgment is expressed that Agrippa was the man "who might just have saved the situation, and might have mitigated (if not healed) the bitterness and distrust the Jew felt for Rome." The author then narrates the little that is known of the life of Musonius Rufus, that philosopher who so imprudently turned peace-maker in A.D. 69, and discusses many of his tenets to show him very surprisingly in advance of his age. Next follows the adventurous career of Josephus, with periodic reminders to the reader than Josephus' own writings are the principal source for the account of his considerable achievements. "Unscrupulous maybe, playing sometimes a double game to further the cause he has at

heart, but resolute, never at a loss in the most urgent moment, prompt and clever, unshaken in his religious faith, and with a courage such as few men can have possessed." Through an account of Agricola's extension of the Roman conquest and conduct of the Roman administration in Britain is presented a study of the very real virtues of provincial government in the imperial period. Of fascinating interest is the evidence from Welsh of the noteworthy influence of Latin upon the British language before its break-up into Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. With the final essay the author, returning to his first special interest in Roman antiquity, delineates a composite merchant, drawn principally, of course, from the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* and epitaphs.

Here truly is a very human side of imperial history. And the whole is enriched and illuminated by apt parallels from the history and literature of other times and other places.

This reviewer feels a less profound gratitude than the author expresses to the "admirable reader of the Harvard University Press" for sobering the colloquialisms, pruning the tautologies and unmixing the metaphors. For it was probably he who, for example, relegated to the second footnote on page 54 one of the most delectable bits of "The Philosopher" as it was originally delivered. But not even so could the presentation be deprived of Charlesworth's lively style and engaging charm.

ROBERT SAMUEL ROGERS

DUKE UNIVERSITY

ANDERSON, F. H., *The Argument of Plato*: London, Toronto, and Vancouver, J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd. (1934). Pp. viii+216. \$2.

This book will find appreciative readers among those who are more interested in understanding the content of the dialogues than in scrutinizing the minutiae of Platonic scholarship, for "debatable 'problems' of Platonic criticism are scarcely alluded to" (Preface v f.). In any case there is in the last chapters much of interest to the special student, who will find there a fresh and lucid treatment of Platonic metaphysics. The author has caught the spirit of Plato's period and of Plato's work, which "is assuredly not a museum

which perpetuates eternally static ethical and metaphysical patterns. It harbours an active world. Its inhabitants are no disembodied dogmas of a school, but living beings quickened by impulse, amenity, and conflict" (3).

Before launching into the material of the dialogues our author first considers Plato as a dramatist; continuing with two chapters on contemporary religion and the poets, and contemporary education and the sophists. These furnish the background for the subsequent treatment of the dialogues as dramas in which Plato presents in lively discussion the views of the *dramatis personae*. A valuable "first handedness" is achieved by the frequent use of paraphrase and quotation, mostly from Jowett's translation.

In the present volume the multifarious characters of the dialogues

are taken to be *dramatis personae* through which Plato interprets an age. . . . Consequently, such problems as whether it is only the Socrates of the early dialogues who is historic; and what the historic Protagoras meant to convey by the dictum "man is the measure of all things" do not arise (p. vi).

All difficulties with variant interpretations are resolved when we treat Plato as a dramatist. But this blanket sloughing off of many real and important problems in interpretation by treating Plato primarily as a dramatist is obviously committing the same error that it aims to correct. The unsophisticated reader should take *cum grano salis* the statement that "Plato is primarily a dramatist and not an announcer of theories" (1).

As a matter of fact the author is fully aware that Plato has reached certain convictions of his own concerning man's nature and his well-being; and these convictions are discussed topically in succeeding chapters. This topical handling of the vast materials presented in the dialogues makes this work a valuable sequel to the running account of Shorey's *What Plato Said*.¹

The weakness of the method Professor Anderson has used is nowhere more clearly brought out than in his chapter on "The Multiple Soul" in which he treats the soul as indisputably tripartite. This uncritical presentation is likely to lead the uninitiated

¹ Paul Shorey, *What Plato Said*: Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1933).

astray; for, as a matter of fact, if adequate consideration is given to all his pronouncements on that subject, it is quite impossible to say with any degree of assurance what Plato's final notion of the elements of the soul actually was.

A copious Index adds much to the usefulness of this well-written volume. In a work as remarkably free from typographical errors as this is, the inverted letter on page 51 attracts one's attention.

J. R. D. BROWN

JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS

Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Dorothy M. Bell, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest to the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and material are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

Socializing Latin

In East Tennessee we are making an effort to adapt the teaching of Latin to the socialized curriculum, for certainly no subject is richer in material which may be used for instruction in democratic citizenship. The first teacher in the section to be allowed to lay aside her regular class work for a period of three or four weeks in order to show that Latin has a social value was Miss Lelia Pace Moore, of Central High School, Fountain City. I quote from a letter which she wrote to me immediately after she had completed the unit:

My students and I have enjoyed the past month. We started with a list of things in which they said they were most interested, such as reading, moving pictures, radio, music, sports, parties, flowers, archaeology, religion. I think we finally settled on about nineteen phases of modern life and traced a relationship to Rome. We studied the arch, dome, and columns in houses, buildings, and bridges in Knoxville. We noticed flowers and shrubs on our campus, and at home visited nurseries and florists' shops, learned the rules for botanical names, and made a display of vases of flowers with their technical names. We traced various trends in fashions, as Roman stripes, the tunic, the lines of evening dresses, styles of sandals, etc. We checked the best sellers of last year (fiction and non-fiction) for classical titles and Latin quotations and phrases, and made a special study of Milay's *Conversation at Midnight*. We noted the Latin phrases or references heard on the radio or at moving pictures. We learned the story of Wedgwood earthenware and china and its connection with ancient Etruria. We learned the story of sterling

silver, stressing the many periods which clearly indicate Roman and classical motifs in design. We studied prefixes, roots, suffixes, Latin in the newspapers, Latin in commercial advertising, modern beauty culture as compared with Roman, and modern warfare as compared with Roman. We learned the stories of three operas, *La Vestal*, *Electra*, and *Orpheus and Eurydice*. In this connection we bought two new records for our victrola. We have done other things, but I shall close by saying that we have made about fifteen posters 22 by 28 inches, fifteen smaller ones, and about fifteen notebooks. We have nineteen written reports and various displays of china, silver, books, weapons, commercial objects, and flowers.

Another teacher who is working on this phase of the Tennessee Program for Improving Instruction by means of selected teachers in service is Miss Alice Hodges, of the Blountville High School. She has chosen different subject-matter, but is, like Miss Moore, surprising state supervisors by the wealth of material fitted to the modern socialized curriculum. Thus far she has treated in outline form the personal, political, and educational aspects of Roman life by placing on facing pages the facts taken from Latin Literature and the parallels from American life. I quote a brief section:

FAMILY LIFE

ROME

I. Matrimony

A. Preliminary love making

1. Betrothal was made in accordance with the judgment of the parents when the parties were mere children.
2. Roman practice in the days of the Empire worked for preservation of sound married life.
 - a. Parents made the choice as carefully as possible, making love the effect rather than the cause of marriage.
 - b. Dowry was a visible indication that the parties intended the marriage to be permanent.

UNITED STATES

I. Matrimony

A. Preliminary love making

1. Friendship develops into courtship which sums up a man's attentions to the woman he wishes to marry.
2. Romantic love is the basis of marriage.

3. *Patria potestas* was so strong that it was hardly possible to escape the parents' choice.

4. Proposal was made by the parent to the child.

B. Marriage

1. A natural sequel to a pre-formed plan for convenience.

2. Neither state nor religious authorities necessary to symbolize marriage.

3. Wedding clothes for bride fixed by custom—no custom prescribed for groom.

4. Wedding tour consisted of march to groom's home.

3. Emphasis is placed upon personal traits rather than upon family status, cultural background, or economic status.

4. Tendency is to idealize person with whom one falls in love.

5. Boy pays girl highest compliment of which he is capable in asking her to become his wife—she may either refuse or accept.

B. Marriage

1. A natural sequel to courtship and engagement

2. Either a civil or religious service symbolizes marriage.

3. Wedding clothing left to taste of individual—no set standard.

4. Wedding tour taken as a time to transfer from atmosphere of courtship to the realities of life.

Miss Hodges plans to have her pupils read Latin passages to support her outline and to have her history classes—for she teaches history also—work on the same project. As the unit develops there will be plays, debates, reports, and perhaps also trips to courts, prisons, and other places related to social organization.

Many teachers who cannot undertake such elaborate projects as those described will find it possible to direct socialized activity in from three to five minutes a day on two or three days of the week and then at the close of the year make a display of all that has been done. We have found this plan feasible in the Teachers College Training School.

RUTH E. THOMAS

STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

A Plan for Combined Third-and Fourth-Year Classes

The tendency has recently become quite common in many schools to combine Junior and Senior Latin classes. The purpose of such combining is the very practical one, from the administrator's viewpoint, of relieving the Latin teacher of one period a day in order that he may have time to teach some other subject. It is extremely doubtful that any good classicist sired such a system.

The difficulties in teaching a class thus combined are many, the most important being the problem which arises from the unequal preparation of the two sections of the class. A common practice has been to read Cicero one year, Vergil the next, and to continue this alternation. Third-year students, who have read little or no Cicero, are usually ill prepared to take their places beside fourth-year students, and the teacher finds that shorter assignments must be given to the third-year group than to the fourth. The worst element in the scheme is the tendency of students to drop Latin at the end of the third year, especially when Vergil was the author read during that year. Many of these students feel that they have read a year of Vergil, and that another year of Latin spent upon Cicero would prove both less interesting and more difficult. Therefore they fall by the wayside,

quam multae glomerantur aves, ubi frigidus annus
trans pontum fugat et terris immittit apricis.

In order to lessen the rigor of a *frigidus annus* of Cicero and to keep our birds in a clime that is sunny for the most part, we have developed the following plan of reading for combined third- and fourth-year classes:

Every second-year class (composed of second-year students only) reads Caesar for two-thirds of the year, Cicero—usually selections from the *Verrius* and the *First Catilinarian*—for the last third of the year. The reading for the combined Senior-Junior group then alternates between what I have indicated below as years A and B:

YEAR A	YEAR B
Cicero one-third of year	Vergil two-thirds of year (<i>Aeneid</i> ,
Vergil two-thirds of year (<i>Aeneid</i>	Books 4-6 or more)
Books 1-3 or more)	Ovid one-third of year

Thus each student, whether he travels by the Year A—Year B or the Year

B—Year A route, will, at the end of his fourth year, have read at least two-thirds of a year of Caesar, two-thirds of a year of Cicero, one and one-third years of Vergil, and one-third of a year of Ovid.

This plan is, for the student, a pleasanter arrangement than the traditional alternating Cicero and Vergil years, because at the end of the third year he has at least two-thirds of a year of Vergil to look forward to. The seemingly excessive amount of time spent upon poetry may, I think, be defended from the point of view of the superior interest of Vergil and Ovid to school children. The main objection is the fact that in a two-year period when the Year B—Year A plan is in force, the Cicero work of the preceding Sophomore year is interrupted for the entire third year and taken up again at the beginning of the fourth year.

No plan for combined classes can be entirely satisfactory. I submit the above scheme in the hope that it may prove of help to those teachers who find themselves astride two horses at the same time.

JOHN K. COLBY

COUNTRY DAY SCHOOL FOR BOYS
NEWTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Making Composition Work Practical and Interesting

Composition work can be made much more interesting and practical if, after certain grammar points have been mastered, the teacher makes a list of the points and composes a short paragraph, dealing with some actual experience of the pupil, which will involve the constructions. The paragraph, because of its continuity and connection with a possible experience, makes the constructions more vital than disconnected sentences do. Such a paragraph can be used as a review lesson or as a test.

The following, which includes the constructions of Berry and Lee "Latin Second Year" lessons 1 to 13, illustrates the idea. The constructions are so obvious that there is doubtless no need to list them:

Although I took my book home last night, I did not work. My boy friend came to see me. He wished to go to a show. The idea pleased me. Going to shows on school nights, however, does not please my mother. "Oh, let me go," I begged. At last I persuaded her to yield to my wish. I did not tell her that

the teacher had given me a lesson to be prepared. By telling such things the hope of going is never won. I do not know when I enjoyed a show so much. But now I do not know the lesson. I am afraid that the teacher will be angry. She doesn't favor anyone. So I must stay after school. Don't wait for me, for I shall not be able to walk home with you. I am going to stay with the teacher and prepare the lesson. When you see my boy friend, don't tell him about this.

MARGUERITE POHLE

BOSSE HIGH SCHOOL

EVANSVILLE INDIANA

The Classical Influence in English

The history of words in the English language is always a source of interest to pupils in Latin classes. For this reason there appears here the first of a brief series of short articles condensed by Jeanette Fager, of Lincoln High School, Canton, Ohio, from her paper, "The Classical Influence in English," read before the Ohio Classical Conference, in Columbus, October 28, 1938.

PART I

Continental borrowing.—The earliest borrowing from the Latin can be traced to a period before the English language existed as a separate idiom, for the Teutonic Angles, Saxons, and Jutes who invaded England in the fifth century, though representing a relatively low stage of culture, showed evidences of contact with the Roman civilization and bore with them in their language words of Roman origin.

As a result of the contact between the Romans and the Germanic tribes on the continent some Latin words found their way into the speech of the various Teutonic peoples as early as the first century A.D.¹

By the fourth century some four million Germans were scattered throughout the Roman Empire, though they were naturally most numerous along the Rhine and Danube, the northern frontier, which bordered on German territory. "Close to the border was Trier, in the third and fourth centuries the most flourishing

¹ Cf. Otto Jespersen, *Growth and Structure of the English Language*: Leipzig (1912), 28.

city in Gaul, already boasting Christian churches, a focus of eight military roads, where all the luxury and splendor of Roman civilization were united almost under the gaze of the Teutons on the Moselle and the Rhine."² Traders, German as well as Roman, and German youth returning from within the Empire with glowing accounts of Roman cities and life, brought to a barbarous people new ideas and some of the material comforts of a higher civilization. These innovations the primitive Teutons gladly accepted, and, as was only natural, found it easier to adopt Roman names for the new concepts than to invent terms of their own. "Several hundred Latin words found in the various Teutonic dialects at an early date—some in one dialect only, others in several—testify to the extensive intercourse between the two races."³

Although the Roman legions did not extend their conquests to the districts occupied by the Angles and Jutes, yet Roman traders must have found their way into all parts of the Germanic territory. For, according to McKnight, "The evidence of language is in remarkable agreement with that of archaeology as to the penetration of Roman culture into the Teutonic North."⁴ Also, through intercommunication Latin words were readily transferred from one Germanic tribe to another. Thus, many Roman words were assimilated at this early period by the English as well as by the other Teutonic groups and were later carried with them to their new home in Great Britain. "In any case, some fifty words from the Latin can be credited with a considerable degree of probability to the ancestors of the English in their continental homes."⁵

If a study of the loan words from this period be colored with the imagination, we can easily see how the life of the barbarians was revolutionized by the early Roman commercial penetration. As is to be expected, many of the borrowed words pertain to trade. *Mango*, "retailer," yielded a number of early English words and survives in our modern "fishmonger" and "scandalmonger." Other Latin terms introduced at this period and obviously associated

² Albert C. Baugh, *History of the English Language*: New York, D. Appleton-Century Co. (1935), 93. ³ *Ibid.*

⁴ George H. McKnight, *English Words and Their Background*: New York, D. Appleton-Century Co. (1932), 107. ⁵ Baugh, *op. cit.*, 94.

with bargaining relations are *moneta*, "coin," which has resulted in modern English "mint"; *pondere*, "to weigh," which has become "pound"; and *uncia* which survives as "inch." Our modern word "cheap" can be traced back to its Old English form *ceapian*, "bargain," which was derived from *caupones*, the Roman name for wine dealers.⁶

Many Latin names for receptacles were introduced very early. Some which survive in modern English are: *disc* (dish; L. *discus*); *cuppe* (cup; L. *cuppa*); *cytel* (kettle; L. *catellus*); and *cist* (chest; L. *cista*).⁶

The Roman influence on the Teutonic mode of living is indicated by the borrowing of such words as *coquus*, "cook," *coquina* "kitchen," *win*, "wine," from L. *vinum*, and the names for butter (OE *butere*; L. *butyrum*) and cheese (OE *ciese*; L. *caseus*).⁶

Dr. Jespersen calls attention to the concrete character of these loan words in contrast with later borrowing. "It was not Roman philosophy or the higher mental culture that impressed our Germanic forefathers; they were not yet ripe for that influence, but in their barbaric simplicity they needed and adopted a great many purely practical and material things, especially such as would sweeten every-day life."⁷

Words for such things were learned in a purely oral manner as is shown in many cases by their forms. As they were short words of one or two syllables, it would seem that the German tongues and minds could not yet manage such big words as form the bulk of later loans. As these early words were easy to pronounce and to remember, being of the same general type as native words, they very soon slipped into the every-day speech of the people and became as indispensable as the things they symbolized.

JEANETTE FAGER

LINCOLN HIGH SCHOOL
CANTON, OHIO

⁶ Cf. Jespersen, *op. cit.*, 30; Baugh, *op. cit.*, 94; McKnight, *op. cit.*, 107 f.

⁷ Jespersen, *op. cit.*, 30.

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Dwight N. Robinson, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; G. A. Harrer, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Russel M. Geer, Tulane University, New Orleans, La., for the Lower Mississippi Valley and the Southwest; Alfred P. Dorjahn, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the Middle Western States. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of the latter date.]

Texas

The Classics Section of the Texas State Teachers Association met at Dallas on November 25, 1938. Dr. H. M. Poteat, Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, North Carolina, read a paper entitled, "Ciceronian Rogues' Gallery." A taste of two special schools for classicists, of a national committee, and of another convention was brought to the teachers present by the following group of reports: "The Rocky Mountain School of Languages," Mrs. Minnie Lee Shepard, Austin; "The Latin Institute of Williamsburg, Virginia," Annie Laurie Walker, Fort Worth; "The Committee on the Present Status of Latin Teaching," Mrs. Marion C. Butler, Waco; "The Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South," Dr. D. A. Penick, Austin. Dr. Jessie D. Newby, Central State Teachers College, Edmond, Oklahoma, gave an illustrated lecture on "The Illustrations in Your Latin Text Books" to assist teachers to make use of the visual aids readily available. Miss Burdette Smyth, Port Arthur, led an open discussion on "The Third Year Problem."

At the luncheon Mrs. Frederick D. Smith was *Magistra Bibendi*. Dr. W. J. Battle, University of Texas, gave the invocation in Latin. *Integer Vitae* was sung by a mixed quartet of Eta Sigma Phi of Southern Methodist University, Dallas. The place cards were picture postcards of Rome and environs stamped with Augustan postage stamps, addressed to the individual, with a message in

Latin selected from some classical author. To complete the idea, a special cancellation stamp CLASSICS—1937—DALLAS had been made.

The luncheon speeches, each of which might well have been much longer, developed the Augustan theme. They were as follows: "Augustan Stamps," Miss Marguerite B. Grow, Miss Hockaday's School for Girls, Dallas; "Laurum de fascibus deposui," Dr. John S. McIntosh, Southern Methodist University; "Templa deum in urbe refeci," Dr. W. J. Battle, University of Texas; "Qui mare, terras omni dicione tenerent," Mrs. Ernestine F. Leon, University of Texas; "Augusteo Bimillenario," Mrs. James H. Nance, Southern Methodist University. The luncheon program closed with the singing of *carmina* led by Dr. Battle.

Dr. Poteat also spoke to the first general session of the State Teachers' Association on "An Educational Credo," to the County Superintendents' group on "The County Superintendent," to the Deans of Women, and also to the Foreign Language section on "The Aims of Education With Respect to the Child." Dr. Poteat's address to the first general session crashed the first page of the *Dallas Morning News* with his picture and several columns devoted to excerpts from his speech.

Dr. Newby put on display about one hundred large pictures of the Augustan Exposition and classical subjects.

Miss Lourania Miller, Dallas (chairman) and the other officers were re-elected for the following year.

The Augustan Mausoleum and the *Ara Pacis*

An official bulletin from Rome announces that the work of restoring the area in the immediate vicinity of the Augustan Mausoleum is progressing with increasing intensity. This vast space will be dedicated to the Emperor Augustus and will cover an area of approximately 23,000 square metres. The piazza thus created will become the largest in the city, larger indeed than the Piazza del Popolo, and will assume the shape of a horseshoe with its opening toward the Tiber. The work is expected to be completed by the spring of 1940.

This superb setting will be further enhanced by the *Ara Pacis*, reconstituted in all its elements and erected on the Lungotevere in Augusto facing the Mausoleum itself,—in fact placed not far distant from the Campus Martius, the site originally chosen by the Roman Senate. All this has been made possible by the discovery of additional remains of the *Ara* during the recent difficult excavations in that area.

In point of ethical and historic importance the *Arca Pacis* is perhaps the most outstanding of all the sacred monuments erected by Augustus. He himself, as will be recalled, made mention in his will, "that in memory of his successful return from Gaul and Spain, the Senate decreed that an altar to the Augustan Peace be erected in the Campus Martius, and that this altar was to be the scene of solemn yearly sacrifices."

Since all historical mention of this monument ceases at this point, it is

fortunate that some coins of Nero show the *Ara* as a square enclosure with double entrance, and outer walls with sculptured decorations. Other details are obtained from a coin of the period of Domitian.

The destruction of the monument appears to have been decreed at the time of the complete triumph of Christianity in Rome, i.e., at the end of the fourth century. After that the *Ara* entirely disappeared, though the laying of the foundation of the Fiano Palace (now Almagia) in the sixteenth century revealed many interesting and exquisitely carved marble reliefs of historic subjects. Other fragments were discovered in 1859 during a subsequent restoration of this palace.

But a more profound study of the reliefs, scattered throughout Italy in the various cities and museums, together with the realization that they belonged to the *Ara*, may be said to have commenced at the beginning of the present century. To German and Italian archaeologists goes the honor of having revived an interest in so important a monument and delineating its essential characteristics, thus making it possible to reconstruct it and to fix definitely the spot of its original location.

With the celebration of the bimillenary of Augustus, the problem has been faced in its entirety with the intention and means of solving it once and for all. Fragments brought to light as early as 1568 at the time of the construction of the Fiano Palace (now Almagia), among them the celebrated slabs belonging to the Medici collection in the Uffizi Gallery, have been assembled in the National Museum at Rome. Moreover, a final exploration of the subsoil around the palace was organized toward the end of 1937. The work is being conducted on up-to-date lines by modern methods with new equipment, including special machinery for freezing the soil in order to avoid filtration of water at the deepest points.

This delicate work has given results even greater than anticipated, and now this superb monument has been almost entirely reconstructed in those parts which were still intact, while those which were lacking have been carefully recomposed. Thus another magnificent chapter in the history of Roman art is now complete. This monument appears in importance comparable to the famous Altar of Pergamum preserved in a special pavilion in the Berlin Museum.

The *Ara Pacis* will be visible from the *Piazza Imperatore Augusto* and will stand out in relief against a background of sky and trees. The *Ara* itself will be protected by a special glass-enclosed portico, designed on simple lines, so that the beauty of the monument will not be interfered with or spoiled.

The solemn inauguration of the *Ara Pacis* will take place at the close of the celebrations in honor of the bimillenary of Augustus.

Educational Articles

From time to time articles are submitted to the Editor of the *Journal* which

in his judgment would prove more effective if published in a periodical of wider circulation, especially in a journal devoted to education in its broader aspects and therefore read by a much larger group than ours. Such an article is "The Training of Latin Teachers Given in Colleges and Universities in the United States," by Stewart Irwin Gay, published in the October issue of *Educational Administration and Supervision*: Baltimore, Warwick and York, 10 East Centre Street. It is well worth reading.

E.T.

Recent Books¹

[Compiled by Herbert Newell Couch, Brown University]

- AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, With an English Translation by John C. Rolfe, Vol. III, "Loeb Classical Library": Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1938). Pp. 580. \$2.50.
- ARISTOPHANES, *Les guêpes, La paix*, Translated by H. van Daele: Paris, "Les Belles Lettres" (1938).
- AUSTIN, R. P., *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions*: New York, Oxford University Press (1938). Pp. 130. 10s. 6d.
- AUTRAN, CH., *Homère et les origines sacerdotales de l'épopée grecque*: Paris, Denoël (1938). Pp. 170.
- BERNSTEIN, LEON, *Flavius Josephus, His Time and his Critics*: New York, Liveright (1938). Pp. 382, illustrated, map.
- BIRT, THEODOR, *Von Homer bis Sokrates*: Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer (1938). Pp. 479, 20 plates. RM 5.
- BRAUN, MARTIN, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature*: Oxford, Blackwell (1938). Pp. xiii+106. 7s. 6d.
- BRITON, P. R., *Fallentis Semita Vitae*, Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard," Rendered into Latin Elegiacs: Oxford, Shakespeare Head Press (1938). Pp. 15. 1s.
- CANTARELLA, RAFFAELE, *Introduzione allo studio della filologia classica*: Naples, Stab. Tip. (1938). Pp. 103.
- CICERO, *Pro Sestio, In Vatinius, De Provinciis Consularibus, Pro Caelio, Pro Balbo*, With an English Translation by J. H. Freese, Revised and Completed by R. Gardner, "Loeb Classical Library": Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1938). Pp. 550. \$2.50.
- DEBEVOISE, N. C., *A Political History of Parthia*: Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1938). Pp. 348, map. \$3.00.
- DELATTE, A., *Herbarius, Recherches sur le Cérémonial usité chez les Anciens pour la Cueillette des Simples et des Plantes Magiques*, "Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de L'Université de Liège," Fascicule LXXXI: Paris, E. Droz (1938). Pp. 177. Figs. 15.

¹ Including books received at the Editorial Office of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

- DE MORGAN, W., *Before Homer*: Cambridge, England, at the University Press (1938). Pp. 261, illustrated.
- DEMOSTHENES, *Private Orations*, With an English Translation by A. T. Murray, Vol. II, "Loeb Classical Library": Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1938). Pp. 447. \$2.50.
- ELGOOD, P. G., *The Ptolemies of Egypt*: London, Arrowsmith (1938). Pp. 240. 8s. 6d.
- EURIPIDES, *Medea*, Edited by Denys L. Page: New York, Oxford University Press (1938). Pp. lxxviii+190. \$2.75.
- FAURE, GABRIEL, *Rome*, "Travel Lovers' Library": Boston, Hale, Cushman, and Flint (1938). Pp. 200. \$1.00.
- Fragmenta Priscæ Latinae*, With an English Translation by E. H. Warmington, Vol. III, "Loeb Classical Library": Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1938). Pp. 550. \$2.50.
- GEER, RUSSEL M., *Roman Civilization*, Second Edition: New Orleans, Tulane University (1938). Pp. vii+194. \$2.40.
- GLOVER, T. R., *Paul of Tarsus*: London, Student Christian Movement Press (1938). Pp. 256. 3s. 6d.
- GOLDBERG, ISAAC, *The Wonder of Words*: New York, Appleton-Century Co. (1938). \$3.75.
- GORDON, A. E., *The Cults of Lanuvium*, "University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology," Vol. 2, No. 2: Berkeley, University of California Press (1938). Pp. 43. \$0.35.
- GUERBER, HELENE ADELINE, *The Myths of Greece and Rome*, Revised by Dorothy M. Stuart: London, Harrap (1938). Pp. 424, 49 plates. 10s. 6d.
- Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. XLIX, Edited by a Committee of the Classical Instructors of Harvard University: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1938). Pp. 281.
- HENRY, R. M., *Virgil and the Roman Epic*, A Lecture: Manchester, University of Manchester Press (1938). Pp. 24. 1s. 6d.
- JONES, LESLIE WEBBER, Editor, *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand*: New York, Published by the editor at 400 West 119th Street (1938). Pp. 310. \$4.50.
- KIEFSTAHL, H., *Der Roman des Apuleius* (Doctor's Thesis): Frankfurt a.M., Klostermann (1938). Pp. 133. RM 8.
- MARCUS, J. R., *The Jew in the Mediaeval World (315-1791 A.D.)*: Cincinnati, Sinai Press (1938). Pp. 504. \$3.00.
- Mathematici Graeci*, "Greek Mathematical Works," With an English Translation by Ivor Thomas, Vol. I, "Loeb Classical Library": Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1938). Pp. 400. \$2.50.
- MEHMEI, FRIEDRICH, *Virgil and Apollonius Rhodius* (Doctor's Thesis): Hamburg, Lettenbauer (1937). Pp. 185.
- MOUNTFORD, J. F., Editor, "Bradley's Arnold" *Latin Prose Composition*: New York, Longmans, Green & Co. (1938). Pp. xi+443. \$2.00.

- OATES, WHITNEY J., and O'NEILL, EUGENE, JR., Editors, *The Complete Greek Drama*: New York, Random House (1938). 2 vols. Pp. 1234 and 1236. \$5.00 per set.
- PLINY, *Natural History*, With an English Translation by W. H. S. Jones and Harris Rachkam, Vol. I, "Loeb Classical Library": Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1938). Pp. 392. \$2.50.
- ROBINSON, C. E., and HUNTER, P. G., *Roma, A Reader for the Second Stage of Latin*: New York, Macmillan (1938). Pp. xvi+110. \$0.70.
- ROBINSON, DAVID M., and GRAHAM,^{*} J. WALTER, *Excavations at Olynthus: Part VIII, The Hellenic House, A Study of the Houses found at Olynthus, with a detailed Account of those Excavated in 1931 and 1934*: Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press (1938). Pp. 370, 110 plates. \$15.00.
- RODENWALDT, G., *Die Kunst der Antike (Hellas und Rom)*²: Berlin, Propyläen-Verlag (1938). Pp. 749. 43 plates.
- ROS, JAN, *Die Metabole (Variatio) als Stilprinzip des Thukydides* (Doctor's Thesis): Paderborn, Schöningh (1938).
- SCHMEKEL, A., *Die Positive Philosophie in ihrer Geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Erster band, *Forschungen zur Philosophie des Hellenismus*): Berlin, Weidmann (1938). Pp. viii+677.
- SCHUMACHER, WOLFGANG, *Die Seele—Der Sitz des Schicksals, Worte Zeitloser Weisheit*: Berlin, Neuland-Druck (1938). Pp. 50.
- SHOREY, PAUL, *Platonism, Ancient and Modern*, "Sather Classical Lectures," No. 14: Berkeley, University of California Press (1938). Pp. 259. \$2.50.
- SIMON, MARIE, *Gewissheit und Wahrheit bei Augustinus* (Doctor's Thesis): Emsdetten, Lechte (1938). Pp. 43. RM 2.40.
- SMITH, J. R., Editor, *Homeric Studies*: London, Grafton and Co. (1938). Pp. 76. 10s. 6d.
- STOKOE, H. R., *The Understanding of Syntax*: London, Heinemann (1937). Pp. 274.
- THOMSON, GEORGE, *The Oresteia of Aeschylus*, Edited with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary: New York, Macmillan (1938). 2 vols. Pp. 353 and 404. \$7.50 each.
- VARRO, *De Lingua Latina*, With an English Translation by R. G. Kent, Vol. II, "Loeb Classical Library": Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1938). Pp. 308. \$2.50.
- WIEGAND, SISTER M. GONSALVA, *The Non-Dramatic Works of Hrosvitha* (Doctor's Thesis): St. Louis, St. Louis University (1936). Pp. xxiv+271.
- WIGFIELD, W. M., *Historical Studies in the Life of Jesus*: London, Blackie (1938). Pp. 144. 2s. 6d.
- WILSON, LILLIAN M., *The Clothing of the Ancient Roman*, "Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology," No. 24: Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press (1938). Pp. 191, illustrated. \$5.00.

^{*} By inadvertence this item was listed in the December issue under Dr. Robinson's name only.

- WIRBELAUER, KARL-WILLY, *Antike Lapidarien* (Doctor's Thesis): Würzburg, Triltsch (1937).
- WOODHOUSE, W. J., *Solon the Liberator*, A Study of the Agrarian Problem in Attica in the Seventh Century: New York, Oxford University Press (1938). Pp. 218. \$4.25.
- WOOLEY, SIR LEONARD, *Digging up the Past*: London, Pelican (1937). Pp. 112. 9d.
- WOSSNER, WALTER, *Die synonymische Unterscheidung bei Thukydides und den politischen Rednern der Griechen* (Doctor's Thesis): Würzburg, Triltsch (1937). Pp. 76.
- WRIGHT, F. A., *Three Roman Poets*, Plautus, Catullus, Ovid: New York, E. P. Dutton & Co. (1938). Pp. 263. \$2.65.
- ZELLER, E.-MONDOLFO, R., *La Filosofia dei Greci nel suo Sviluppo Storico, Parte I, Volume II, I Presocratici*: Firenze, "La Nuova Italia" (1938). Pp. 755. L. 56.